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Romanian - American Negotiations

IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE, AND ARTS

Presa Universitară Clujeană

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in Education, Science, Culture, and Arts

Cornel Sigmirean • Sonia D. Andraș • Roxana Mihaly
(Editors)

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Preface

In 1895, at age 21, Winston Churchill visited New York for the first time. Impressed, after his first encounters with America, he wrote to his mother, originally from the USA: "What an extraordinary people Americans are! They proved so hospitable that I felt at home in their midst, which had never happened to me before. On the other hand, the press and their money impressed me very unpleasantly..." These are images that almost represent Europeans' standard image of the US. In 1909, the young Epaminonda Lucaciu, well-known Transylvanian political leader, Vasile Lucaciu's son, in a conference held in 1909 in front of Romanian students at the "Petru Maior" Society in Budapest, said: "The basis on which the United States develops is the greatest freedom. The holiest and most intact treasure is freedom – on any land. Man is created equal and has inalienable rights, and his aim is to unfold life in freedom and the pursuit of happiness." The image of America as a civilization and culture, as a political model, would then return throughout the interwar period. The philosopher Nicolae Petrescu, a good connoisseur of American realities, drew the attention of Romanians in 1934 that "Based on a perfect technical civilization, reflected in the best-organized society and the highest standard of living, American culture develops normally and in proportion to such a civilization."

As a political model for the young democracy in interwar Romania, as a protector against threats to the sovereignty and integrity of the state, as a cultural model, and as a daily life, America represented for Romania a reference point, a factor of stability and progress. America was a model and ally of the civilized world!

The American universe, seen from the perspective of Romanian-American relations between the two world wars, is the subject of this present volume, *Romanian American Negotiations in Education, Science, Culture,*

and Arts, published as part of the UEFISCDI-funded project *The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940)*.

Although the United States opted for an isolationist policy in the interwar period, US economic interests in Europe, and threats to the status quo, enshrined at the Paris Conference, made the US an active presence on the continent. Washington′s position regarding the policy of revisionist states, which carried out an aggressive policy in the US, was a topic of significant importance for Romanian diplomacy, especially regarding relations with Hungary and the USSR, an aspect presented by the Italian historian Giuseppe Motta, author of several studies and books on Romania′s relations with the US. The same subject of Romanian-American diplomatic relations and Soviet-Russian propaganda in the US is also the subject of Cornel Sigmirean′s study. Through historian Daniel Citirigă′s study of humanitarian assistance centers opened with American financial aid in Romania, the volume proposes necessary research on America′s presence in Romanian culture and daily life. Liviu Bordaș considers the American university model among Romanian intellectuals, namely Mircea Eliade, who dreamed of a Professor position at Harvard University. Truța Ferencz Iozsef connects the Rockefeller Foundation′s philanthropic activities on health and hygiene with business, focusing on the particular case of the Gilău Sanitary District project in Romania. Sonia Andras′ study captures fashion as a lifestyle, preferences, and an intermediary between cultures. American fashion, film, and theater have created an Americanized European audience, an image of the United States in Romania. The Romanian society searching for the model is also found in the study of literary historian Iulian Boldea, reconstructed through the books of Petre Comarnescu, a personality of Romanian culture in the interwar period. The penetration of architectural models in the urban space of Bucharest, through architect Rudolf Fränkel, is proposed by researcher Maria Boștenaru Dan. The work of sculptor Constantin Brâncuși represented the Romanian reply to the American model, the American route of his artistic work being reconstructed by Roxana Mihaly. Original, based on rich documentation, are the studies of colleagues

Eduard Andrei and Octaviana Jianu about the avatars of Romania's presence at international exhibitions in the USA. Through the study of researcher Carmen Andras, we discover the image of Romania reflected in the books of Robert St. John, one of the most famous American war correspondents during the Great War.

Unfortunately, isolated in the interwar period from the political realities on the continent, America saw how, at the end of the '30s, the political creation of the Paris Peace Conference collapsed, the US being invited to "abandon jazz" to enter a new war on the European continent, extended to Asia and Africa, to save civilization, alongside the UK. At the war's end, Eastern Europe fell victim to communist totalitarianism imposed by the USSR, and its peoples were forced to abandon the Western model of civilization in favor of the communist model. However, after 45 years of communism, the American model became negotiable again as a cultural, economic, and political model for Romanians, allowing us to reconstruct essential pages in the history of interwar Romania in the context of Romanian-American relations.

Cornel Sigmirean

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Dr. Liviu Bordaș holds a PhD in Philosophy from the University of Bucharest and has studied classical Indology at the Universities of Bucharest, Vienna, Rome, Heidelberg, Pondicherry, and New Delhi. He has been a research fellow at various institutes in Europe and India and a Fulbright visiting scholar at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. Since 2010, he has been affiliated with the "New Europe College" Institute for Advanced Study in Bucharest. His publications include a book on Romanian cultural contacts with India during the period 1780–1860 (*Iter in Indiam*, 2006), one on the debates around Nae Ionescu's philosophical originality (*Apaşul metafizic şi paznicii filozofiei*, 2010), and two annotated volumes of Mircea Eliade's correspondence (*Postlegomena la felix culpa*, 2012–2013). He has a forthcoming book on Eliade (*Eliade secret*) and is editing two series of his Indian writings in seven volumes.

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Romanian Cultural Diplomacy in the United States between the World Wars

Giuseppe Motta

Introduction

When analyzing the relations between Romania and the United States, it is common to quote Captain John Smith's adventure at the time of Mihai Viteazul, even though it is evident that contacts became more frequent only two centuries later, in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the US established their first consular see in Galați. While the origins of American-Romanian commerce dated back to the arrival of an American vessel on the Danube (1843), the relations between Romania and the United States officially began with the recognition of Romania in 1881, when the first American emissary Eugene Schuyler met King Carol.[1] Schuyler had been preceded by Louis J. Czapkay and Benjamin Franklin Peixotto and was also competent for Serbia and Greece.

In 1913, Charles J. Vopicka was appointed for Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia: he devoted to his experience the book *Secrets of the Balkans,* where he described the situation of Romania during the First World War.[2] During the first phase of Romanian neutrality, the commercial and financial circles from the United States carefully studied the economic conditions of Eastern Europe to stimulate trade relations in view of a possible future expansion, also preparing the forthcoming establishment of a Romanian delegation in Washington.[3]

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[1] Paul D. Quinlan, "Early American Relations with Romania, 1858–1914," *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes* 22, No. 2 (June 1980): 187–207.

[2] Charles J. Vopicka, *Secrets of the Balkans* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1921).

[3] Anamaria Lepcaliuc, "Relations between Romania and the US during the Neutrality Years 1914–1916," *Acta Universitatis Danubius* 8, no 2 (2015): 35–47. Victor S. Mamatey, *The United*

It was only after the conflict, however, within a new international scenario, that the two countries intensified their relations: a Romanian delegation was sent to America in 1917, while in 1918, Romania established its diplomatic mission and credited Constantin Angelescu at Washington as Extraordinary Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty King Ferdinand to the Government of the United States of America on a special mission. In those days, Romania was also represented by Captain Vasile Stoica, who, from October 23 to 26, 1918, participated in the event of Tomas Masaryk's Medio European Union at Philadelphia Independence Hall to proclaim freedom for Newborn Democracies. In 1921, the US-appointed Peter Augustus Jay as their consul with the exclusive competence on Romania.

In those years, diplomacy was different from that of the past. The negotiations of Versailles introduced many changes: one of these was that cultural elements finally entered the world of international politics. The peace talks reflected the work that had been made during the conflict by the Great Powers, which established specific study committees in order to prepare future negotiations with a more "scientific" approach, for example, the Peace Bureau Inquiry, the Comité d'Etudes, or the special department of the British Foreign Office.[4] At Versailles, all delegations presented more or less sophisticated books or pamphlets explaining the historical, ethnic, economic, or cultural rights of their respective States and populations to gain the sympathy, benevolence, and support of the Powers. In the Romanian case, Emmanuel De Martonne's *Transylvania* represented a perfect example of how these academic works could be used even for territorial requests. Cultural propaganda was inevitably destined to remain as a permanent element of international diplomacy, and the following years witnessed

States and East Central Europe in 1914–1918. A study in Wilsonian diplomacy and propaganda (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

4 Volker Prott, "Tying up the Loose Ends of National Self-Determination: British, French, and American Experts in Peace Planning, 1917–1919," *The Historical Journal*, 57, 3 (September 2014): 727–750; Idem, *The Politics of Self-Determination: Remaking Territories and National Identities in Europe 1917–1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

intensive and animated debates on the consequences of the peace treaties.[5] Books, press articles, conferences, and academic discussions entered the language of politics, and Romanian diplomacy was not exempted from this cultural battle. On the contrary, it had to substantially start this activity from the beginning.

A Difficult Debut

After the Great War, Central-Eastern European States were confronted with a new international scenario, which overcame the limited space that many European countries were used to refer to new international institutions such as the League of Nations were created; new world powers such as the United States emerged as a consequence of their political and economic influence. Furthermore, the negative connotations of traditional propaganda, implicit in Wilson′s ban on secret diplomacy, forced politicians to consider more subtle ways of influencing foreign opinion.

It was not only a quantitative shift but also a qualitative one, and cultural diplomacy was an example of this turn in international politics. One of the first States that understood the political importance of cultural aspects was Hungary, which, during the peace negotiations at Versailles, developed an intensive campaign of propaganda aiming at convincing the Powers of the righteousness of Magyar requests.[6] It was at the time of the Territorial Integrity League that Court Albert Apponyi published a direct

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5 On De Martonne and the frontiers of Romania, Gilles Palsky, "Emmanuel de Martonne and the Ethnographical Cartography of Central Europe (1917–1920)," *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): 111–9. Svetlana Suveică, "Between Science, Politics and Propaganda. Emmanuel de Martonne and the debates on the status of Bessarabia (1919–1920)," *Cahiers du monde russe*, 58/4 (2017): 589–614; Giuseppe Motta, "The Meaning of Boundaries. The Making of Romano-Hungarian Frontier after the First World War," *Semestrale di Studi e Ricerche di Geografia* XXXI, no. 2 (2019): 131–48.

6 Among the first "Trianon Books," see for example, Benedek Jancsó, *Hungary and Roumania* (London, 1921); Joszef Ajtay, Benedek Jancsó and A. Kovács, *The Transylvanian question* (New York, London, Budapest 1921); C. Tisseyre, *An error in diplomacy; dismembered Hungary;* preface by M. de Monzie (Paris, 1924). Imre Lukinich, *Barbarie des Valaques dans l′histoire de Hongrie* (Budapest, 1922).

appeal to the country of Wilsonism in the name of the right to national self-determination.[7]

The work of the Integrity League was continued with the publication of the so-called "Trianon Books," which insisted on the Romanian violations of Magyar minority rights in Transylvania and Banat, focusing on the conditions of Reformed churches. These accusations found fertile ground in American public opinion, also thanks to the reports of some religious missions that visited Romania during those years, portraying a reality of discrimination and corruption.[8]

After the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, the opportunities to formally conduct revisionist propaganda in the context of a policy of "watchful waiting" were very limited. As a consequence, the Magyar government supported private organizations that aimed to expose the negative and unjust – from the Magyar point of view – consequences of the treaties, creating a positive image of Hungary in contrast with a very critical description of the so-called Successor States.[9] In this phase, Budapest organized a well-structured and extended network of cultural institutions and organizations in order to promote the Magyar point of view and influence the political elites of the most important countries, including the United States.[10]

international affairs, even Before the war, the US was not a central junction for Romanian because Romanian presence was very limited. The history of Romanian immigration could be a very interesting subject of study and research, as proved by the works on Benjamin Franklin's meeting

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[7] Albert Apponyi, *The American Peace and Hungary* (Budapest: Hungarian Territorial Integrity League, 1919).

[8] For example, the mission headed by prof. John Morehead of the Evangelic Church and those of Methodist and American Christian churches. G. Motta, *Less than Nations. Central-Eastern European Minorities after WW1*, vol. 1 (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2013).

[9] Pál P. Toth, "Hungarians in the Successor States: From World War I to World War II," *Nationalities Papers* 24, no. 3 (2018): 425–35; Carlile A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937).

[10] Pasquale Fornaro, *L'altra Europa. Temi e problemi di storia dell'Europa orientale* (Soveria-Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2008).

with the Orthodox clerk Samuilă Damian, but the 1920 census inexorably recorded only 29,347 persons born in the US declaring the Romanian language as their mother tongue: according to Christine Avghi Galitzi's research, the great majority of them (86.9 percent) came from Transylvania and more than the half resided in the industrial centers of the North-Atlantic regions.[11] However, after the war, the US was no longer the isolationist country of the previous years, and though Congress refused to ratify American membership in the League of Nations, Washington gained a new and more influential role in international politics. This new American status was fully recognized by Hungary, which continued intensively the campaign inaugurated during the peace talks, while Romania needed to rapidly fill the gap, as it was well explained in the first reports sent by Romanian agents after the conflict.

On September 4, 1920, the lawyer Dion Moldovan, former editor of the journal "Românul" of Cleveland, explained the great difficulty of Romanian representatives, who were called to counteract a solid network of Magyar journals and publications:

> The Hungarians began to follow their significant newspapers, with a total circulation of over 400,000 copies, publishing bilingual issues, pamphlets, and brochures, fed and financed directly and indirectly by Budapest.[12]

In 1918, 27 Magyar journals circulated, and "every Hungarian newspaper published in the United States after World War had a permanent column about the Old Fatherland."[13] Magyar propaganda could count on numerous

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[11] Paul Cernovodeanu, "Un transilvănean prieten cu Benjamin Franklin," *Magazin Istoric* IV, 11 (1970): 49–51; Christine Avghi Galitzi, *A Study of Assimilation Among the Roumanians of United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929); Gabriel-Viorel Gardan, Marius Eppel, "The Romanian Emigration to the United States until the First World War. Revisiting Opportunities and Vulnerabilities," *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 11, no. 32 (Summer 2012): 256–87; Iuliana Neagoș, "Aspects regarding the emigration context of the first Romanians in the United States of America," in *Literature, Discourses and the Power of Multicultural Dialogue*, ed. Iulian Boldea (Târgu Mureș: Arhipelag XXI Press, 2017).

[12] *Report by Dion Moldovan* (September 4, 1920). Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 6.

[13] Mark I. Major, *American Hungarian Relations 1918–1944* (Hamilton: Hunyadi 1991).

newspapers such as "Szabadsag" in Cleveland, *Amerikai Magyar Népszava (American Hungarian Folklore)*, and *Elöre (In Advance)* in New York, and it was supported by influential personalities such as Prof. Henry A. Heydt from New York, Baron Imre Jòsika and Countess Szecheny, many German and Jewish bankers, or the former ambassador at Constantinople, Henry Morgenthau.

On the contrary, Romania had to rely only on persons whom Moldovan defined as discredited adventurers, probably targeting the members of the precedent mission and especially Vasile Stoica. Moldovan thus established contacts with figures such as Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University and M.J. Davis of the *New York Times*:

> America knows almost nothing about the enormous wealth of Greater Romania […]. Romania did not have a minister plenipotentiary who worked to create a bond of sympathy between it and the United States.[14]

In order to create a cultural network in favor of Romania, the Society of Friends of Roumania was created under the patronage of Queen Marie with William Nelson Cromwell as president, cooperating with other organizations such as the *Prietenii României (Romania's Friends)* and the *Sons of Roumanians*.[15] Between 1926 and 1935, the Friends of Romania published *Roumania – A Quarterly Review*, with the collaboration of a young John Foster Dulles, hosting the articles by well-known authors such as Nicolae Iorga and important Romanian personalities in America such as Dimitri Dimancescu, the first honorary consul in Boston.[16]

One of the main tasks of Romanian diplomacy was to improve the Romanian image and defend the country from the aggressive and frequent attacks of Magyar propaganda. Under this perspective, Prince Bibescu and the Yugoslav representative Vl. Savic were contacted by Eugene Bagger, a

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[14] Motta, *Ardeal. La fine della Grande Guerra e il nuovo confine romeno-ungherese* (Rome: Nuovacultura, 2016) 213.

[15] Arthur H. Dean, John Foster Dulles, *William Nelson Cromwell, 1854–1948: An American Pioneer in Corporation, Comparative and International Law* (New York: Ad Press 1957).

[16] Nicolae Iorga, "Is Roumania a Balkan State?" *Roumania – A Quarterly Review* VI, 1 (1930): 14.

Magyar of Jewish origin, a supporter of Oszcár Jászi working for various journals (*New York Tribune, The New Republic, The Nation*), who presented a project aimed at fighting Magyar and German propaganda at the modest sum of $200 per month.[17] It was also, thanks to Bagger, it was said that *The Nation* changed its attitude and abandoned the anti-Romanian tones of the past. The Romanian see sent to Bucharest several articles in which Bagger portrayed Romania as the heir of Ancient Rome and Caesar's legions or defended the Romanian agrarian reform against the attacks of Magyar propaganda, underlining: "What the critics forgot to mention was that the holdings of the Rumanian churches, Orthodox and Uniate, were similarly confiscated."[18] This work, as a result of the documents, was repaid by Romanian diplomacy with a small monthly contribution.[19]

The documents of the Minister of Foreign Affairs show the intense activity that Romanian agents conducted in order to create a good impression on Romania in the press, first of all responding to the numerous attacks of Magyar propaganda, but also presenting the country and its economic opportunities. Some reports described the American context and the publications that were important from the Romanian point of view. A very detailed document was drafted by Ion Iosif Șchiopul, who had manifested his interest in Romanian emigration to the US prior to World War One, contributing to the publication of *Emigrarea în America: De ce să nu mergem în America? (Emigration to America: Why Not Go to America?)*.[20]

In his report, Șchiopul confirmed the bad impression that the Romanian mission had left at the end of the war and described the general situation in quite dramatic tones. The American press, he said, did not show any aversion with regards to Romania ("The American press in general still has

[17] *Bibescu to Take Ionescu* (March 5, 1921). AMAE, USA Fund, 71 vol. 1.

[18] Eugene Bagger, "Rumania is a Souvenir of Ancient Rome; People the Descendants of Caesar's Legions," *New York Tribune* (October 24, 1920): 7. "Roumanian Land Reform," *New York Tribune* (September 25, 1921): 8.

[19] *Bibesco to Ionesco*, October 19, 1921, AMAE, 71, USA Fund, vol. 8.

[20] Ion Iosif Șchiopul, ed., *Emigrarea în America: de ce să nu mergem în America*? (Sibiu: Editura Asociațiunii, 1914)

the same rather favorable attitude towards us"), but the influence of Magyar propaganda was strong, and even the Romanian press in the US, especially *America* (the most popular), maintained a very aggressive and critical approach against Romanian authorities both in the US and in Romania.[21]

Șchiopul illustrated the example of the *Plain Dealer* of Cleveland, a city in Ohio where 50,000 Romanians resided. The *Plain Dealer* sent a correspondent in Eastern Europe, C.W. Howells, who authored several articles in favor of Hungary and hostile to Romania. Șchiopul consequently made a visit to the director of the newspaper, who assured him about its goodwill, having nothing against Romania. Howells, the director explained, remained negatively impressed by widespread habits such as *bacșiș (tips)* and *mituiri (bribes)*. Nevertheless, Șchiopul published an article in response to Howell's under the name of I. Ardeleanul.

A different chapter was represented by the socialist press, which did not have great influence: *Deșteptarea (The Awakening)*, the organ of the Romanian socialist federation, was edited weekly in Detroit (Michigan), exclusively thanks to private donors, readers, and activists, who were mainly from Transylvania. It was Marxist and anti-Romanian, but its circulation was extremely limited. Similarly, the American socialists created *Muncitorul (The Worker)*, "read almost exclusively by the newspaper's management."[22]

Prince Antoine Bibesco's activity included very careful monitoring of the press replying to anti-Romanian articles such as those by Ch. H. Grasty, who published a critical text in the *New York Times* (NYT) on April 15, 1921.[23] On April 17, the NYT published Bibesco's reply against the accusations of misrule, corruption, confiscations: all were to be attributed to the fact that "Magyars still refuse to accept their fall from overlordship."[24] Similarly, Bibescu was called to reply to Theodore Vladimiroff's essays in the monthly

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[21] *Romanian press in America*, note by Ion Iosif Șchiopul (October 1, 1921). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 8.

[22] *Note by Bibescu* (August 29, 1921). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 8.

[23] "Doubt Rumania's Fitness for task. Foreigners Make Grave Charges of Dishonesty in Public and Private Business," *New York Times* (April 15, 1921).

[24] "Ionesco Defends Rumania's Record," *New York Times* (April 17, 1921).

magazine of the NYT, *Current History*, and published other articles in response to Count Teleki, who, after he resigned from the premiership, returned to academic activity directing and participating to numerous associations devoted to the cause of revisionism (the institutes of Sociology, Political Sciences, or the Foreign Affairs Society).

In 1921, Teleki lectured on Hungarian geography and politics at the Williams College at Williamstown, taking part in a summer program on the state of affairs in Central Europe. Furthermore, between August and September, Teleki participated in numerous events and had many occasions to promote the image of Hungary, her history, and political evolution. During this tour, he resumed old contacts and created new ones, for example, at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in order to cement a sincere understanding in favor of the Hungarian position.[25] He met President Warren Harding, Secretary of State Evans Hughes, and Herbert Hoover, and his visit generally created great enthusiasm among the Hungarian community in the US. The results of his lectures, in any case, were not enthusiastic, as proved by an article in the *New York Times*, which stated: "Medieval History as Count Teleki sees it and tells it is a work of edification rather than a critical study."[26] His lectures were finally published in 1923.[27]

Bibesco's impressions in reply to Teleki were registered in a document drafted together with Deputy I. Coltor and former deputy Dr. Crisan and published in the *New York Herald*. In that phase, Bibesco cultivated relations with editors and journalists and asked Bucharest for more propaganda products such as "La Roumanie en images." He tried to promote the interest and knowledge of Romania and her economic opportunities even with the Montreal-based journal *La Presse*, and once again published his remarks after the visit of Magyar personalities such as Teleki or the priest Alex Boer,

[25] Éva Mathey, "Semi-official Hungarian Efforts in the United States for Territorial Revision in the 1920's," *Americana. E-Journal of American Studies in Hungary* XVI, 1 (2020), http://americanaejournal.hu/vol16no1/mathey.

[26] "Jumbled History," *New York Times* (August 19, 1921).

[27] Pál Teleki, *The Evolution of Hungary and Its Pace in European History* (New York: MacMillan 1923).

a former professor of Cluj who visited America for the congress of reformed churches at Pittsburgh.[28]

At that moment, Hungary supported a well-financed irredentist campaign that seemed to be addressed to the return of Monarchy, with possible consequences also in Austria and Germany. "Not sword, but culture can sustain and make the Hungarian homeland great once again," announced Kunó Klebelsberg in his inaugural speech as Hungarian Minister of Culture and Education in 1922. But generally speaking, and the meeting of Queen Marie with the American press in Athens represented a confirmation of Bibesco's thought, the American public showed "a love and interest spirit."[29]

Bibescu explained that a dozen Magyar special emissaries (journalists, lecturers, etc.) were working in the United States together with Magyar priests: *Ungaria iredenta* was asking her sons abroad to do their duty:

> Efforts, made with the aid of the newspapers, to convert American public opinion to the cause of Hungary will doubtless be followed by an attempt to make a loan from the American bankers. The Horthy government hopes to subsidize its attack against the Little Entente and the decisions of Europe with US dollars [...].[30]

Magyar propaganda had to be contrasted through the creation of a Central European Committee for Peace with some precise tasks: to print bulletins, journals, reviews; to organize and participate in conferences, mass parades, and mobilization; to finance anti-Hungarian propaganda, even supporting Horthy's enemies in the US; to promote economic cooperation between the Us and the countries of the Little Entente through Romanian, Czech banks and American enterprises, for example establishing an information bureau.

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[28] He corresponded with H. Laureys, professor at Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales of Montreal who published articles on *La Presse*. *Bibesco to Ionesco* (May 7, 1921); "Un intervieu al Prințului Bibescu," *America* (April 12, 1921). AMAE, 71, vol. 8.

[29] *Note of Bibescu to Take Ionescu on the meeting between Queen Marie and Asociația Presei Americane* (March 15, 1921). "Queen of Rumania to visit us in fall The World. Roumanian Queen to Study U.S. Life," *New York Times* (March 14, 1921).

[30] *Bibescu to Take Ionescu* (March 5, 1921). AMAE, USA Fund, 71 vol. 1.

The activity of Romanian agents partially reflected this roadmap, preparing the Romanian participation in the Perpetual Observance of the Armistice Day of the Louisville Community Committee, replying to articles attacking Romania after the events of Soroca in 1923, or explaining the Romanian point of view in the main synagogues of Philadelphia, as a consequence of the problems that Jewish communities were experiencing in Romanian universities.[31] Their task was undoubtedly difficult, as proved by comparing Magyar and Romanian politicians visiting the US. The presence of Nicolae Lupu in 1922 surely could not successfully counterbalance those of Teleki or Albert Apponyi, who, after 1904 and 1911, made his third tour between September and November 1923. Apponyi's visit was carefully organized by a committee composed of influential personalities such as Nicholas Murray Butler, the director of the Carnegie Endowment, or professors Samuel MacCune Lindsay and Stephen P. Duggan. Apponyi met President Calvin Coolidge, the Secretary of Commerce Hoover, Adolph S. Ochs of the New York Times, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, president of the Council of Foreign Relations, Charles G. Dawes, and was generally received as a statesman, celebrated by numerous press articles.[32]

In 1925, Count Bethlen had once again the opportunity to reiterate Apponyi's and Teleki's messages on the pages of the influential publication *Foreign Affairs*:

> Unfortunately, when speaking of this question today I cannot speak in the name of all the Hungarians living in Europe. Almost four million or one-third of all the Hungarians living today in the whole world is the number of those Hungarians who are now beyond the present frontiers of the country and are cut off from their fatherland, not only politically and economically, but also intellectually and from the viewpoint of culture. The definitive stabilization of this situation without any complete acknowledgment of minority rights on the part of the countries to the rule of which these Hungarians

[31] *Report by J. Rosenthal* (February 15, 1922). National Archives of Bucharest, Ministerul Propagandei Nationale Fund, MPN, file 121. *Note by Bibescu* (January 7, 1923). AMAE, USA Fund, 71 vol. 1.

[32] "Apponyi Pleads Cause of Hungary," *New York Times* (September 30, 1923); "Apponyi and Central Europe," *New York Times* (November 18, 1923).

have been subjected, cannot prove of advantage either to international peace or to European consolidation.[33]

Political Encounters

In the field of political affairs, Romanian documents in the US testify that Romanian diplomats carefully followed the evolution of the American scenario, especially addressing any possible change in the strategy of isolationism. Except for the press – numerous articles were translated and commented on, they followed the academic life of the main institutions that were interested in Central-European affairs, and under this point of view, particular attention was paid to the Political Institute of Williamstown, where Teleki lectured during his visit in 1921.

The Political Institute was established by Harry A. Garfield, president of Williams College, who was dissatisfied by America's failure to join the League of Nations and wished to promote an informed perspective of world politics. Located in the Berkshire Mountains of Western Massachusetts, it organized an annual summer session of lectures and roundtables where diplomats, peace activists, observers, and students could discuss the main issues of international relations. Its model was rapidly emulated by colleges and universities across the US.[34] As proved by the Romanian documentation, it became a common destination for many diplomatic delegates.

In 1925, for example, the professor of Chicago Bernadotte E. Schmitt presided over scientific sessions about "Some political problems of Contemporary Europe," where it seemed that Magyar propaganda was somehow well-received. Deputy Consul Andrei Popovici reacted against this tendency to accept Magyar interpretations and denied the faked information spread by Budapest, assuming that the Institute was generally

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[33] Stephen Bethlen, "Hungary in the New Europe," *Foreign Affairs* 3, no. 3 (April 1925): 445–58.

[34] *The Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Massachusetts: Its First Decade* (Williams College, Institute of Politics 1931); James McAllister, *Wilsonian Visions: The Williamstown Institute of Politics and American Internationalism after the First World War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021).

sympathetic to Romanian interests. But at the same time, Popovici recognized that it was difficult to efficiently reply to the systematic campaign of Magyar propaganda: "despite the feverish activities of our enemies, who were represented there by numerous agents."[35]

Later on, on the occasion of the Institute's plenary session (August 15, 1927) – when the discussion of American relations with Europe was confined to a study of international debts in retrospect and prospect – Popovici illustrated the "enlightened" scholastic policy of his government and in particular the Romanian agrarian reform, which was often criticized and interpreted as an anti-Magyar measure. Romania was under attack by Hungarian and Jewish circles, and this inimical attitude represented a serious reason for concern for the country's image.[36] On the contrary, it was due to this excess of ambiguity that antisemitism could flourish in Romania.

On February 4, 1928, Popovici participated in the meeting of the Foreign Policy Association in Boston, which was attended by important personalities such as the professor of international law Manley O. Hudson and many Hungarian representatives such as the Unitarian clerk Lathrop, who had visited Romania after the war, and a Harvard Ph.D., Francis Deak, who spoke about the regime of options, the minorities and the agrarian reform. As happened on other occasions, Popovici intervened, defending the Romanian tradition of tolerance:

> […] we are the most tolerant country in the world and are proud that in eight years we have accomplished more, not only in the social and democratic field but also in terms of the treatment of minorities, than Hungary in a thousand years.[37]

Some months later, Popovici organized the Romanian presence and took part in the celebrations for the 100 years of the American Peace Society

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[35] *Report by Popovici to Nano* (August 6, 1925). AMAE, 71, vol. 8.

[36] "A fost resimțită de întreaga populațiune, și dacă nu înceta, ar fi reușit să creeze sentimente antisemite în România," AMAE (See note 35). Richard A. Newhall, "The Institute of Politics at Williamstown," *The American Political Science Review* 21, no. 4 (Nov., 1927): (881–5) 882.

[37] *Report by George Cretzianu (*February 10, 1928). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 5.

in Cleveland (May 7–11, 1928), where the presence of high-ranked politicians such as Count Apponyi was expected.[38] On this occasion, George Cretzianu emphasized the Romanian contribution to the fight against Bolshevism and the menace coming from revisionist States, which exaggerated with calumnies and false information:

> […] they flood the world with pernicious and calumnious propaganda to stir public opinion against us. They hide behind invented accusations that Romania does not live up to its obligations toward minorities.[39]

International public opinion, in conclusion, could not have a clear and balanced idea of the Romanian situation, which was continuously attacked by some "survivors of the old order" who could keep their privileges only thanks to the generosity of rich contributors such as Lord Rothermere with his mediatic empire.[40]

The diplomatic correspondence naturally included detailed press articles on the general policy of the US towards Europe, which in those years came back to traditional isolationism, and the principle of non-intervention was repeatedly reaffirmed by Secretary of State Frank Kellogg and important personalities such as William D. Castle at the Institute of Williamstown.[41]

An important occasion to promote Romanian interests was represented by the visit of Queen Marie, together with her son Nicholas and daughter Ileana, which began on October 18, 1926, but was prepared in detail in the previous months.[42] The visit was preceded by the creation of the society "Amicii Statelor Unite" at Bucharest (January 16, 1926), which was headed

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[38] *Report by Popovici* (November 30, 1927). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 6.

[39] *Speech by Cretzianu at the celebration of the American Peace Society at Cleveland* (May 10, 1928). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 7.

[40] Robert Donald, *The tragedy of Trianon; Hungary's appeal to humanity.* With an introduction by Viscount Rothermere (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1928); Harold S. Rothermere, *My campaign for Hungary* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1939).

[41] *Reports sent to I.G. Duca*, August 19, 1925, December 17, 1925, USA Fund, 71, vol. 1.

[42] "Rumania Announces Queen Marie is Coming; Many Cities Are Included in Itinerary," *New York Times* (September 12, 1926).

by the governor of the National Bank Mihai Oromolu and was the sister company of Cromwell's *Friends of Roumania*. During her stay in the US, the Queen met personalities such as President Calvin Coolidge and the major of New York, and her patriotism was celebrated by numerous press articles and welcomed by important institutions such as the Academy of West Point, which annulled all punishments then in vigor for the cadets, and by New York State School of Agriculture, which created four fellowships in favor of Romanian students.[43] At the same time, however, the occasion gave birth to polemics against Romania, underlined by some press articles mentioning the Queen's refusal to meet a delegation of Baptists who wished to discuss alleged violations of minorities or the imprisonment of 2,500 political prisoners without any reason.[44]

Throughout those years, in any case, Romanian diplomacy succeeded in creating the conditions for being supported by some journalists such as Thomas H. Healy, who, in the summer of 1928, discussed the situation of Romania and the relations with Hungary on the pages of the *Herald Tribune*. Healy's article of July 28 was replied to by Emeri Deri's new accusations on August 25 in the text "Hungary and Rumania. Questions of Accuracy in Discussion on Transylvania and the Treaty of Trianon." Deri stated that the "population of Transylvania has never been permitted to make use of this right of self-determination, and no plebiscite has ever been held."[45]

Another very significant moment in the campaign against Romania was recorded in 1929, with the news of the imprisonment of two well-known authors, Sherwood Anderson and Beverly Nichols.[46] Though even

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43 "Cadet Can't Forget Lunch with Ileana," *New York Times* (December 3, 1926).

44 Alexander D. Ionesco, "Queen Marie and Romania," *New York Times* (October 31, 1926); "Queen Marie Rebuffs Baptists," *New York Times* (November 9, 1926). Emma Rountree, *A Nation of Hero-Worshippers: Queen Marie of Romania, the United States of America, and the Rise of the Royal Celebrity*, Thesis submitted to the faculty of Guilford College, Department of History, 2016.

45 Emeri Deri, "Hungary and Rumania. Questions of Accuracy in Discussion of Transylvania and the Treaty of Trianon," National Archives, MPN, file 17.

46 "Anderson is Expelled on Rumanian Trip; Novelist and Beverly Nichols Ordered to Quit While Investigating in Transylvania," *New York Times* (March 9, 1929).

the Romanian security service confirmed Anderson's arrest, as the author was supposedly paid by the Magyar government to write an anti-Romanian novel, this information finally resulted in being a "hoax."[47]

Romanian agents always tried to reply to Magyar propaganda but at the same time lamented the difficult task of fighting against it, underlining the great financial support it received from Budapest and the Revisionist League. Hungary could distribute elegant books and publications that largely circulated in the United States, for example, the *Danubian News*, which was offered to schools and universities and sent to various members of Congress. In 1927, the Hungarian Parliament passed a law that allocated 1.2 million Hungarian pengos for the establishment of institutions that would serve as outposts of Hungarian culture, and soon branches of Collegium Hungaricum opened their doors in Vienna, Berlin, and Rome. In the following years, this Hungarian cultural offensive reached out through lectureships and academic departments worldwide. Romania, on her side, tried to pursue the same model – for example, financing the publication of a book by Alexandru Minculescu-Vlasca to celebrate Carol II – but never reached a similar audience.[48]

An important moment in international politics was recorded in 1928, when Secretary of State Frank Kellogg, together with Aristide Briand, launched an international pact for peace. On November 14, 1928, Romanian diplomacy illustrated from Washington the declarations of Calvin Coolidge, who seemed to vigorously proclaim American intention to avoid any threat to international peace,

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[47] *Note of the General Security Inspectorate of Cluj* (March 13, 1929). National Archives, MPN, File 135. Actually, "two actual investigators identified themselves as these writers to a Hungarian newspaperman." W. Bates Rideout, *Sherwood Anderson: a writer in America,* vol. 2 (Madison, 2006): 39–40.

[48] *Note by Popovici* (September 1, 1934); *note by Radulescu* (August 25, 1935). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 8. "The edition will be brought, out in the month of June 1932, to celebrate the completion of two years reign of His Majesty King Carol II," Letter by the journalist Alexandru Minculescu-Vlasca, to the president of the United Roumanian Society of New York, National Archives, MPN File 17.

> The world needs peace, and America is determined to do its duty to ensure an era conducive to human progress [...]. America is working hard to ensure peace […].[49]

The importance of these declarations was remarkable, as they were released at the end of Coolidge's mandate and actually implied that the following Republican administration of President Hoover was more or less encouraged to follow this address. It was the context when, on the one side, American Secretary of State Kellogg promoted a real "examination of conscience" in the name of international peace, while on the other, the US seemed to reaffirm their right to intervention in Mexico or China, at least according to George Cretzianu.[50]

Coolidge's speech was reported in detail in its various points: the probable ratification of the Kellogg pact by the American Senate; the great economic prosperity Americans were experiencing before 1929; the future recognition of the Soviet government; the agricultural policy. Romanian diplomatic correspondence seemed to suggest that the United States was ready to begin a new phase of interventions, and for example, quoted an article that appeared in the Italian newspaper *Corriere d'Italia* on April 4, 1929: "Uncle Sam alla Conquista dell'Africa."

However, the expectations aroused by the Briand–Kellogg pact for the commencement of a new phase in American international strategy were met with evident difficulties, as proved by new president Hoover's speech integrally reported by the *New York Times* on May 31, 1929. Hoover stated that "despite the declarations of the Kellogg Pact, every important country has since the signing of that agreement been engaged in strengthening its naval arm." Yet, Hoover seemed ready to counteract these dangers and "maintain a just preparedness for the protection of our peoples." The economic crisis of 1929 and its effects in the following years clearly annulled any possible development in the direction of a turn in American foreign policy, as it was

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[49] *Note by G. Cretzianu from Washington* (November 14, 1928). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 1.

[50] *Cretzianu to Minister of Foreign Affairs G. Mironescu* (December 7, 1928). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 1

explained in numerous reports on the declarations of Secretary of State Henry Stimson or President Hoover.[51]

At that moment, new meetings were organized by the Institute of Williamstown on July 30, 1931, where former Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, a possible democratic candidate for the 1932 elections, expressed his ideas on international politics. With regards to the Treaty of Versailles, Baker considered it a point of departure: nobody, he said, had ever considered it as immutable but just as an elastic instrument of world re-organization.[52]

Nevertheless, this statement was to be considered from a political point of view, thus not very likely to happen in case of Baker's success in future elections:

> [...] one should not take too seriously what he said regarding the revision of the political clauses of the treaties. Of course, they would support such an initiative, but only if they were "dans l'air.[53]

Ghica further reflected on the particularly difficult moment of the US and pondered that in the future elections of 1932, a success of the Democratic Party was to be expected. From this point of view, Baker seemed to have good chances of becoming the Democratic candidate. Other possible names were Owen Young and Franklin Roosevelt: the latter was described as an intelligent politician, while the former had good relations with economic and financial circles, and his name was clearly well-known to international public opinion. Baker was strongly associated with his past experience as minister during the Wilson government, and it was possible that his international programs would have somehow recalled this experience. This, Ghica stated, represented a hurdle for Baker's options, as many democrats were not willing to support greater American involvement in European politics.

The strong resistance to such involvement was perfectly represented by a group of senators, so-called *ireconciliabili (irreconcilables),* whose most

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[51] *Letter by Carol A. Davila from the Romanian Legation in Washington* (May 13, 1931). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 8.

[52] *Note by Ghica (August 19, 1931)*, AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 7.

[53] Ibid.

prominent figure was undoubtedly Senator William Borah, the president of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. Borah and his friends, as illustrated by Ghica, were in the position of impeding the ratification of any possible treaty, and his opinions on international politics were consequently very important.[54] Extracts of Borah's interview were transmitted to Romania on October 24, 1931, and reported in detail some days later by Frederic C. Nano, who explained that it was perhaps the first time that the senator from Idaho agreed to make a stenographic report of his opinions. Furthermore, Borah had recently met President Hoover, who probably shared his view, which was expressed during the days of French Minister Laval's visit. The main topic of the interview was the possible entanglement of the US in international questions: Borah, and it was well known, was contrary to any intervention and considered that disarming in Europe was possible, only changing the situation. It meant that he considered revising the Treaty of Versailles essential, which, in any case, was extremely far to come. To an open question of the journalists, Borah replied that what he meant was to change the frontiers, first of the Polish Corridor, then Hungary:

> It is divided into five parts, and as long as it is divided in this way, the division will be maintained by force of arms. You cannot expect Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Romania to disarm when part of their territory is in dispute.

Borah considered that no actual instrument to modify the treaties existed, as the only article for a possible modification required the consent of all the States, which were absolutely not ready to make such a move. After many questions related to the international scenario, the disarming, and the economic and financial problems, including war reparations, Borah finally declared to be in favor of the recognition of Soviet Russia.

In his report of August 19, 1931, Ghica narrated the personal meeting at lunch between Borah and the Polish Ambassador Tytus Filipovici, who discussed the question of the Polish Corridor. According to Borah, until the

[54] *Note of F.C. Nano* (October 29, 1931). AMAE, USA Fund, 71, vol. 7.

situation was not changed, a conflict was indeed to be expected. To this statement, Filipovici replied "Let it be war" (*Fie dar război*). This incident was then commented on by the press and even generated a joke: How the name Filipovici should be pronounced? "Gaffekowski!"

Borah's interview, which was reported with sarcasm by the American press, for example, the *New York Times* and the New York *Herald Tribune*, naturally animated Magyar organizations, which sent, as usual, their documents and requests, while the Romanian National Council of Cleveland sent Borah a telegram which was also published by the *New York Times*, reaffirming the Romanian rights in Transylvania, a region that was populated by a Romanian majority. Though defined as grossly simplicist by important newspapers, Borah's vision reflected a widespread sentiment in the rural and suburban context, and it was very influential, surely not to be underestimated. Furthermore, as illustrated by Carol Davila, the minister at Washington, it was likely that Borah's declarations were released in accord with the White House.[55] As a matter of fact, the expected turn in American foreign policy was not recorded until the Second World War had already begun and the territory of Romania consistently amputated.

Conclusions

After the Great War, the traditional perspective of many small States' diplomacy was functionally enlarged in a global dimension. Their diplomacies discovered the need to project the image of the nation and to conduct public relations campaigns, especially in the US, where public opinion was substantially devoid of any knowledge about Eastern Europe. It was the case of Romania, whose cultural diplomacy was called to reply to the rich and well-structured propaganda of the Magyar State. As explained by Nicolae Iorga, "any country stands in the world, not only with what it is but also with the fame it has."[56] From this point of view, the documentation

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55 *Bulletin of the Romanian Legation in Washington*, no. 14 (August 1, 1932).

56 Iorga, *Scrisori către Românii din America, 1921–24* (Cleveland: "America" Newspaper Press), 92.

proves that cultural diplomacy was substantially envisioned as an interstate competition between governments looking for alliances and political support, and the American press had enormous power in this field.[57]

A very interesting case of this competition was represented by the University of Pittsburgh's Cathedral of Learning's Nationality Rooms, where emigres from Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia presented their identities, cultures, and values. The initiative on behalf of Romania arrived from a young Romanian Ph.D. student, Christine Galitzi, who learned about the proposal for the Nationality Rooms in the summer of 1927. She formed a committee of Romanian students and approached the Romanian government via the Romanian Legation in Washington. The number of Romanian immigrants in Pittsburgh was too low, so it was necessary to organize a nationwide fundraising campaign in cooperation with the Union of Romanian Beneficial and Cultural Societies of America. At Pittsburgh, the different countries projected their Europeanness: Hungary was portrayed as the Shield of Christendom, Romania as the heir of the Roman Empire and Byzantine Culture, and a bulwark against Bolshevism. This experiment, as illustrated by Zsolt Nagy, generated real "construction sites for national identity formation," which were evidently important not only as cultural expressions but also from a political perspective.[58]

The presence of Romania in the American cultural scenario surely increased during the entire interwar period. After the important visit of Queen Marie in 1926, another important moment was represented by Nicolae's Iorga three-month visit in 1930. Iorga held various lectures explaining the history of Romania and South-Eastern Europe and also published the first description of America through the eyes of a Romanian, *America și românii din America*.[59]

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[57] Idem, *America și românii din America. Note de drum și conferințe* (Vălenii de Munte, 1930), 238–9.

[58] Zsolt Nagy, "National Identities for Export: East European Cultural Diplomacy in Inter-War Pittsburgh," *Contemporary European History* 20, 4 (2011): 435–453.

[59] Thomas Amherst Perry, "Nicolae Iorga and America," *Mentalities,* 4, 1 (Jan. 1, 1987); Gheorghe Buzatu, "Nicolae Iorga și America," *Hierasus* III (1980): 13–18.

How far competition between Hungary and Romania succeeded in conditioning political actors and public opinion remains a matter for speculation. What can be presumed by the diplomatic documents is that the task of Romanian diplomacy to create stable and efficient machinery to respond to the constant complaints of Hungarian agents and associations was only partially satisfied. Difficulties were numerous, as showed by the troubles at the Romanian National Room in Pittsburgh, which was halted in 1931 as an American cashier embezzled the funds raised. Romanian press, at the same time, was not always cooperative, and according to Nicolae Iorga, the responsibility of Romanian difficulties abroad was partially to be attributed to the help of several Romanian newspapers: "what a rich collection of monstrous statements against our ruling class can come out of the Romanian newspaper itself!"[60] Perhaps the greatest contribution to making Romania known to the American public was given by artists such as the famous composer George Enescu or the sculptor Constantin Brâncuși.

Though representing a relevant part of the diplomatic work, Romanian cultural diplomacy was launched in a rather improvised way and undoubtedly suffered from the obligation of constantly responding to Magyar initiatives rather than developing independent strategies. Only in 1939, on the occasion of the World Trade Fair, an ambitious and well-structured program for the promotion of the Romanian image was launched. It was when Romania first organized its Minister for Propaganda (decree no. 3599, October 3, 1939). Previously, various press departments existed within the ministries, and after 1926, a General Direction was established.

The Romanian documents prove that during those years, cultural diplomacy was gradually constructed and recognized as a viable and essential addition to traditional diplomacy, especially by those small states that needed to cement their image policy but a sympathetic sentiment of support among the public.[61] Naturally, the United States was not the primary target of this

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[60] Idem, "Apărarea noastră în străinătate," *Neamul Românesc* (18 September 1935).

[61] Jessica C. E. Gienow, Hecht and Mark C. Donfried, eds., *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books 2010).

policy, but it was surely important for the prospected increase of economic and financial relations. What was made in the interwar period somehow anticipated the establishment of a specific minister on propaganda in 1939 and of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in 1962. In any case, cultural diplomacy in America remains a significant example of Central-Eastern Europe's ferocious and intoxicated transnational struggle for legitimacy and influence, a result of the creation of a new diplomatic scenario, which was destined to crumble against the return of militarism and nationalism, but finally consecrated the relevance of cultural aspects in the field of international relations.

Bessarabia: Politics and Propaganda in the USA (1920–1940). A Coin's Story*

Cornel Sigmirean

The Great War ended in 1918. Many historians believe that the war's end must also be identified with President Woodrow Wilson's January 8, 1918 speech to the United States Congress in his *Fourteen Points*, an outline of his vision for peace ratification, in which he advocated for a Federal Austria-Hungary, whose people "must be given the best opportunities for autonomous development."[1] The US president contemplated converting Austria-Hungary into a federal state and only consented to Poland's independence, "completely free from German and Austrian domination." The end of the Empire was signaled on September 3, when the Allies formally acknowledged the Czechoslovak National Committee in Paris as the country's legitimate representative, notwithstanding the US's initial disapproval of Austria-Hungary's disintegration. Press agencies carried a statement on November 6, 1918, which said that the US government "deeply sympathizes with the spirit of unity and with the aspirations of the Romanians everywhere and will not neglect to use its influence in due time as the just political rights and territories of the Romanian nation to be obtained and secured against any foreign invasion."[2] The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was acknowledged in 1919 as well. The *Fourteen Points*, enunciated by Wilson,

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1 Robert Gerwarth, *Cei învinși* (Bucharest: Litera), 215–16.

2 Ion Stanciu, *Aliați fără alianță. România și SUA 1918–1920* (Bucharest: Albatros, 1992), 159.

changed the balance of political forces in Central and Eastern Europe, encouraging political movements, legitimizing the claims of smaller nations, especially in Austria-Hungary, shaking, as historian Misha Glenny claimed, the arrogance of its excellent power diplomacy.[3] In the act of union preparatory conference on November 30, Transylvanian politician Ștefan Cicio Pop referred to Wilson as "the first nuncio of national autonomy."[4]

At the Paris Peace Conference, Wilson — the first American president to travel abroad for a conference—was hailed as a "God of Peace."[5] According to historian Jill Lepore, along with political leaders from France, Britain, and Italy, the US president participated in redrawing Europe's borders, deepening hostilities on the continent.[6] By founding the League of Nations, President Wilson sought to make up for the faults of the Peace Treaty. Two days after he arrived in the United States, he also introduced the Treaty of Versailles to Congress, mentioning the League of Nations concept. "Shall we or any other free people hesitate to accept this great duty? Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?"[7] – the President wondered. The truth is that many states placed great hopes in the power of the League to maintain peace in the world. As many shared the conviction of US Secretary of State Robert Lansing in 1917, "The only way a people can express their will is through democratic institutions." Continuing this idea, he asserted, "Therefore, the moment it becomes a safe place for democracy […] universal peace will be an accomplished fact."[8]

America represented for the Romanians, as for many European peoples, a protector, and a model. In Transylvania, the American society model was presented to Romanians since the nineteenth century. During the 1848

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[3] Misha Glenny, *Balcanii*. Naționalism, *război și Marile Puteri 1804–2012* (Bucharest: Trei, 2020), 390.

[4] Ion Clopoțel, *Revoluția din 1918 și Unirea Ardealului cu România* (Cluj: Editura revistei Societatea de Mâine, 1926), 115.

[5] Jill Lepore, *Aceste adevăruri. O istorie a Statelor Unite* (Bucharest: Trei, 2022), 439.

[6] Ibid, 441.

[7] Ibid, 435.

[8] Ibid.

Revolution, George Barițiu recommended to the Romanians in the Principalities a democratic attitude, "he who wants to be greater must be the servant of all... this is the rule for our days."[9] George Barițiu published in *Gazeta Transilvaniei (Transylvania's Gazette)* and in *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură (Paper for Mind, Heart, and Literature)* texts from Benjamin Franklin's writings, *Caracterul prădătorilor (The Character of Raptors)*[10], *Biografia lui Franklin (Franklin's Biography)*[11], *Blândul bătrân Franklin (The Kind Old Man Franklin)*[12], *Numele câtorva virtuți cu învățăturile sale (The Name of Some Virtues with their Teachings)*[13]. In Transylvania, Thomas Paine's book *Rights of Man* had a large circulation among Romanians and the American Revolution's famous document, *The Declaration of Independence*[14]. The American model was also presented to Romanian students in Budapest at the conference held by Epaminonda Lucaciu at the *Petru Maior* Society in 1909:

> The basis on which the United States is developing is the greatest freedom. The most sacred and intact treasure is freedom – on any terrain. Man is created equal and has inalienable rights, and his goal is to live life in freedom and the pursuit of happiness. [15]

If the government violates these rights, "the people have the right to remove it and establish a new government."[16]

The USA represented a political reference center for Romanian diplomacy by contributing to the war's end and its role in the Paris Peace Conference. By virtue of the principle of self-determination, the political movement to unite the Romanian provinces with the Romanian Kingdom identified an essential supporter in the USA. In 1917, *Misiunea Patriotică*

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[9] Cited in Gelu Neamțu, *În America pentru unirea Transilvaniei cu România* (Cluj-Napoca: S.C. "DAGEROM IMPEX" S.R.L. 1997) 27.

[10] *Foaie pentru minte inimă și literatură* X, no. 51 (1947), 413–6

[11] Ibid, V, no. 28, (1842), 223–4.

[12] *Gazeta Transilvaniei* VIII, 85–89 (1945).

[1313] Ibid, no. 1–3 (1852).

[14] Neamțu, *În America*, 27.

[15] „Dl. Dr. Lucaciu despre America," *Lupta* III, no. 40 (March 3/16): 2–3; Idem, no. 41 (March 4/17, 1909): 2–3.

[16] Ibid.

Română (The Romanian Patriotic Mission), comprised of Vasile Lucaciu, Vasile Stoica, and Ion Moța, left for the USA to mobilize the approximately 200,000 Romanians in America and to promote the cause of uniting Romanians in one state to the highest levels of American politics.[17] On V. Stoica's initiative, the National League of Romanians in America was created. It published articles in the American press about the Romanians' cause in Austria-Hungary and was supported by journalists and historians, such as Frank N. Simonds and Herbert Adams Gibbons. In the same period (1919–1920), Vasile Stoica was part of the commissions sent to the USA for the proper organization and functioning of the Romanian consulates in Washington and Chicago and established a consulate in Pittsburgh.

The union of Bessarabia, Bucovina, and Transylvania with Romania, the Peace Conference preparation, and the recurring political disputes in Bucharest affected Romanian diplomacy's mobilization in relations with the USA after 1918. In a Memorandum drafted by the Romanian journalist in the USA, Dion Moldovan, sent to Romania's foreign minister, Take Ionescu, the situation of Romanians in America and how Romania is represented in the USA is presented. The memorandum was sent through the well-known Transylvanian politician Vasile Lucaciu.[18] Dion Moldovan, well acquainted with American realities former director for nine years of the Romanian newspaper "Românul," mentioned that he had excellent knowledge of Romanian, English, German, and Hungarian languages. He believed three fundamental problems await the solution in the Romanian State's relations with the USA: 1. The legation in Washington, 2. The repatriation of Romanian emigrants, and 3. Propaganda in favor of the Romanian cause.

Regarding the Romanian Legation, it pointed out that after former minister C. Angelescu's retirement, Romania did not appoint another person, a situation that was considered an insult in "official circles," that Romania

[17] Neamțu, *În America*, 64

[18] Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive, *Fund 71/ USA* 36, years 1922–1927, 1.

did not have a "Minister Plenipotentiary" in Washington.[19] As a result, he suggested sending a minister immediately and insisted that he be "a man of high caliber" as a planned campaign against Romania had been started, "set up by the most important powers that our enemies have abroad."[20] Above all, D. Moldovan points out that some emissaries sent from Bucharest are unsuitable, giving Vasile Stoica[21] as an example. The Hungarians had newspapers with a circulation of over 400,000 copies a day, in which they published bilingual issues, pamphlets, and brochures, financed directly or indirectly by Budapest, "a propaganda against us whose effect is seen and felt."[22] Some of the most important newspapers are *Szabadság* from Cleveland, Ohio, *Amerikai Magyar Népszava,* and *Előre*, a socialist newspaper from New York, "also read by Romanians and Hungarians from Transylvania."[23] "Countess Széchény, Marcu Brown/Braun, from Budapest, baron Imre Jósika, banker Speyer, and a lot of Jews and Germans, people with fortunes of millions" were among the persons who "keep hanging around Washington" and supported the propaganda. Instead, he found that the Romanians in America did not have among them substantial and imposing elements in American political life. Among the few Romanians who mattered, the priest Dr. Epaminonda Lucaciu from Trenton, the priest Jean Podea from Youngstown, Ohio, and, with modesty, Dion Moldovan, were mentioned. He insisted that "we absolutely need a man of political weight in Washington."

A critical radiography of the "repatriation business" is obtained. But, as shown in the introductory part, it returned to the propaganda problem for Romania. He proposed drafting a magazine, "under the supervision of the Minister Plenipotentiary," in which distinguished writers from home

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19 Ibid, 2.

20 Ibid, 3.

21 Well-known diplomat, involved in the campaign in America for the Romanian cause, he did not enjoy appreciation from those who knew him in the USA, either Romanian Americans or diplomats. Envy or reality, we could not pronounce, except by noting the mistakes of Romanian diplomacy on American soil.

22 Ibid, 4.

23 Ibid.

and America would collaborate. From the USA, he proposed Edwin Markham, Poet Laureate of the United States, Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, Professor Landsmann of Texas, Professor Leon Feraru of Columbia, Dr. Frank Crane of New York, M. J. Davis of *New York Times*, "part of them who were kind enough to support us when we published Romania Nouă." He believed it would be advisable for "some among our prominent men, historians, politicians, scholars to tour America."[24] In the end, he expressed his wish that the Minister Plenipotentiary "put back" (*răpună* – our note) the grouping around the *America* newspaper of the Union of Romanian Societies in America," an anarchist socialist propaganda newspaper.

In a letter sent on September 20, 1920, by M. Michaescu to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Take Ionescu, who presented himself as a good connoisseur of American society, where he had lived for many years, he also proposed the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, mentioning that no one "can imagine the loss we have that even today there is no official person to represent Romania in a dignified and authoritative way."[25]. Dr. Constantin Angelescu, a minister in Washington, remained there briefly and did nothing to create the sympathy Romania needed from the American people. It stated that after Anghelescu's departure, the Legation's leadership was taken over by N. Lahovary, "who, being too fearful to take on any task, exclusively works on tackling some problems that fall entirely outside the purview of a Romanian representative."[26] He was disappointed that "a few months ago a joint mission composed of Mr. Stoica, (Aurel) Esca and (Ion) Lugojanu arrived in the United States and the said mission does nothing but deal with minor works." He told the foreign minister that Vasile Stoica "had relocated to New York and was focusing more on the Marmorosch Bank agreement, which involves setting up shop in the city." He accused Ion Lugojanu, honorary consul in Chicago, of participating in a meeting of

[24] Ibid, 11.
[25] Ibid, 14
[26] Ibid, 14.

Romanian socialists.[27] Moreover, M. Michaescu ended the letter with the recommendation that "career diplomats be appointed in America."[28]

A prominent figure in interwar diplomacy, Anton Bibescu was nominated by Bucharest as a minister plenipotentiary in Washington in 1920. Also, several interwar figures lectured at American institutions, though to a lesser extent than the journalist D. Moldovan had hoped.[29]

However, from the correspondence of the Romanian Legation in Washington with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest, there were still many disagreements at the level of the representatives of the Romanian diplomacy in the USA. A letter from the Romanian ambassador to Washington, Anton Bibescu, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, I.G. Duca, registered on May 24, 1924, showed that the Legation (Embassy)'s relations with Vasile Stoica were still in total disagreement.[30] Anton Bibescu sent to Bucharest the "photostatic copy" of an article published by Vasile Stoica in the newspaper *România*, entitled *Basarabia în presa americană* (*Bessarabia in the American Press)*, sent by Bibescu probably to inform Duca about Stoica's position or to understand the situation presented in the article at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From the beginning, Bibescu drew the attention of Minister I.G. Duca to Stoica's status in the USA and his attitude towards him after Bibescu refused to appoint him to the position of secretary at the Legation. The reasons, said Bibescu, were related to the fact that V. Stoica had a bad relationship with the Romanian colony in America, being accused

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27 Ion Lugojanu (Lugoșianu), graduate from the School of Political Sciences in Paris, technical adviser to the Romanian delegation at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, chief of staff in the Vaida government (1919–1020), was sent to the US and Canada with the goal of establishing consular services and researching the Romanian colonies in those two countries. Member of the National Peasant Party, he was Minister of Public Instruction (June 7, 1932 – June 17, 1930) and Minister of Industry and Commerce (June 6 – August 11, 1932, and October 20, 1932-June 14, 1933). He was Minister of the Holy See between June 14, 1932, and November 1937. See Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia României. Cugetarea Material Românesc, Oameni și Înfăptuiri* (Bucharest: Saeculum I.O., Vestala, 1999), 498.

28 Ibid, 15

29 See Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică (1919–1939*) (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 1998).

30 Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive, *USA Fund.* 58.

of incorrectly using the funds made available by the Romanian State; that during his stay in the US, he waged a fierce campaign against President Wilson, a fact he knew from a State Department official; that during Lahovary's mandate, Stoica presented himself as minister of Romania.

In the article entitled *Bessarabia in the American press*, Vasile Stoica stated that upon arriving in the USA in 1921, as he reported to the foreign minister, Take Ionescu, he discovered a vigorous campaign against Romania, not only from the Hungarians but also from the Russians, "monarchists, republicans, Bolsheviks alike," where the reunification of Bessarabia to Romania was presented as theft from Russian territory.[31] In the article, Vasile Stoica showed that he had informed Take Ionescu that the Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, was demanding the integrity of the former Russian Empire except for the Polish, Finnish, and Armenian lands. He recalled that in November-December 1920, in the *New York Tribune*, a polemic arose about Bessarabia between him, Vasile Stoica, and Professor Jerome Landfield, a member of the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. The Romanian diplomat mentioned in the article that: "Unfortunately, the intrigues, which make our diplomatic corps a seriously ill institution, prevented the realization of the plan we had made with Take Ionescu." It stated that the relationship between Romania and Russia hid great dangers for the peace of Europe. He was worried about the impact of Russian propaganda, in which figures of scientific reputation were drawn, "with influence not only on the general public but also on politicians and even on American decision-makers in international politics."[32] A good connoisseur of American realities, Vasile Stoica, pointed out that the latest issue of the *Current History* magazine from New York published such a study signed by university professor Alfred I.P. Dennis, the author of documented volumes of modern history, the latest of which was The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia. The conclusions of Alfred I.P. Dennis:

[31] Ibid, 60.
[32] Ibid.

They are alarming – confesses the Romanian diplomat – For the Russians, Bessarabia is still an open wound, for the Romanians the recognition of Romanian rule by Russia in this province is the indispensable condition for the resumption of normal diplomatic relations.

According to the American historian,

The issue of Bessarabia in the current phase has its origin in the events of the summer of 1916, when Romania finally entered the world war on the side of the Allies. The result was disastrous for Romania. The Romanian army was utterly incapable of resisting the blow that General Mackensen gave it and the armistice of Focșani, on December 9, 1917, took Romania out of the fight. Immediately after the cessation of these hostilities, Romania's hidden enmity towards Russia began to show itself. Clashes began between the mobs of the Russian army and the disorganized elements of the Romanian troops, and these culminated in the invasion of the Romanian troops in the Russian province of Bessarabia in January 1919. The disintegration of Russia had begun, and the Romanians saw in the confusion of the Bolshevik revolution an opportunity to compensate themselves at the expense of Russia for the losses they had agreed to in favor of the Central Powers.[33]

The issue of Bessarabia's union with Romania remained an open topic on the Romanian-American relations agenda. The USA delayed the recognition of Bessarabia's union with Romania. In 1920, when The Paris Peace Treaty formally recognized the union of Bessarabia with Romania, the US decided not to recognize any territorial changes affecting the territory of ancient Russia until there was a definitive government in Moscow. On July 3–4, 1933, the Convention for the Definition of Aggression by Romania, Estonia, Turkey, the Soviet Union, Latvia, Poland, Persia, and Afghanistan was signed in London, considered an essential step in regulating relations between Romania and the USSR.[34] The USA indirectly recognized Bessarabia's belonging to Romania in 1934 by including Bessarabia in Romania's immigration quota.[35] Bessarabia would remain a focal point of Soviet Moscow's propaganda

[33] Ibid, 61.

[34] See the Convention's contents in Nicolae Titulescu, *Documente diplomatice*, 2nd ed, ed. Dumitru Preda (Bucharest: Editura Fundația Europeană Titulescu, 2021), 507–10.

[35] See Alexandru Boldur, *Basarabia și relațiile româno-ruse* (Bucharest: Albatros, 2000).

during the interwar period.[36] In order to destroy "capitalist states," the Red International sought to incite and encourage national disputes. At the seventh Balkan Conference, Nicolae Bukharin, one of the Communist leaders in Moscow, asked the Communist parties to "launch the most radical slogans" in the national question:

> Our main slogans here, too, must be as radical as possible: secession, independence of all republics, etc., because we must support national conflicts. We will not clarify later.[37]

Additionally, a chapter from the interwar history of Bssarabia was written in the United States. In 1932, a lawyer from Washington, Reserve Major Thomas C. McDonald, reported to the Romanian Legation that he wanted to show his interest in Romania by awarding five gold medals to Columbia University in New York, to be awarded one each year, as a prize to the student who would write the best thesis about Romania.[38] The address suggested that the jury consist of two members of Columbia University's Faculty of History, appointed by Chancellor Butler, and one member of the Legation. The Romanian minister in Washington will "arbitrate" the competition.

They decided on the following subjects to be the themes of the thesis: The history of Russian-Romanian Relations; The possibilities of intensifying the exchange of goods between Romania and the United States; the Formation of the Romanian race (from antiquity to the 15th century); Agrarian reform in Romania; The role of Romania in the World War. Major MacDonald also gave such medals to encourage the study of the history of Poland and Belgium. He chose the three countries because, during the war, he worked between 1916 and 1920 as a member of the American Red Cross and the "Food Relief Administration" in Romania, Poland, and Belgium. As with

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36 About the historical reality in Bessarabia, see Vasile Stoica, "The Romanian and Their Lands. Bessarabia," in *The Cultural and Diplomatic Relations between Romania and the United States of America 1880–1920*, ed. Flaviu Vasile Rus (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2018), 253–67.

37 Gheorghe E. Cojocaru, *Cominternul și originile „moldovenismului." Studii și documente* (Chișinău: Civitas, 2009), 21.

38 Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive, *USA Fund.* 1.

the awards offered for Belgian and Polish studies, MacDonald recommended to Romania that the medals be printed in Romania. The expense of "striking," printing was to be borne by the donor. The Romanian delegation wondered if such medals could be created in Romania and at what cost during the Ministry of Foreign Affairs address. The medal was to be the size of an old gold one-hundred-franc piece. The medal was proposed to feature the head of HM the King encircled by the inscription "Carol II, King of Romania" and on the reverse the words: "To............., for best essay on Roumania. Columbia University 1933 (respectively 1934, 35, 36, 37)," engraved in the center, surrounded by the inscription: "Presented by Thomas C. MacDonald." The medals were to be delivered no later than February 1933. The Legation was informed from Bucharest that no engraver was identified in the country to make the five gold medals at a total price of one hundred and fifty dollars, as requested by Thomas C. McDonalds. In this situation, he turned to the well-known medal engraver in Paris, André Lavrillier, "who is the author of our present metal coins′ model."[39] After quite difficult negotiations, Lavrillier agreed to create the five gold medals with a diameter of thirty-three-thirty-five millimeters for two hundred dollars. It was mentioned that the medals would be cast and not struck. This process, although more imperfect, was less expensive.

The Bessarabian sculptor Alexandru Plămădeală, director of the School of Fine Arts in Chişinău and "former medalist of the Petersburg imperial mint," was called upon to make the medals. However, the costs requested by the artist amounted to six hundred dollars, which represented "the price of gold, the technical work, and the author′s fee."[40] In another letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the sculptor Plămădeală undertook to deliver the order no later than January 15, 1933, at the total cost of three hundred dollars.

Nonetheless, Viorel Tilea, Undersecretary of State for Press and Information in Bucharest, was informed by the Legation that MacDonald

[39] Ibid, 2.
[40] Ibid.

was not going to spend more than one hundred and fifty dollars on the medals, as the medals for Belgium and Poland had cost him.

The coin minting transfer to Paris postponed the minting and awarding of the first coin to 1933. As a result, Columbia University was requested to issue the coins from 1934 until 1938.[41] Eugen Filotti, Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, sent to the press secretary at the Romanian Legation in Washington, G. Boncescu, the draft of the coins, received from Lavrillier, to subject them to the approval of Major MacDonald, noting that Lavrillier wanted to deliver the medals by the end of April 1933. Through the Legation in Paris, Lavrillier received, on March 14, 1933, a check for one hundred and twenty-five dollars, representing part of the five gold medals' cost. The rest, of seventy-five dollars, was to be paid upon completion of the work, the total value of the work amounting to two hundred dollars.[42] Nonetheless, Andre Lavrillier was also late with the transmission of the medals. As a result, the awarding of the first medal for the year 1935–1936 was requested to be postponed.[43] The first medal, however, was delivered in April 1934.[44] From the Press Secretary's correspondence attached to the Romanian Legation in Paris, I. Luculescu, emerged the delicate situation created by Andre Lavrillier with the medals' delivery and this situation's implications in the relationship with McDonald, raising the issue of returning the money advanced to him. Finally, as it can be ascertained from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' correspondence with the Romanian Legation in Washington,

> [...] all 5 medals donated by Mr. T. C. McDonalds were received and presented by Mr. Minister Davila, accompanied by the undersigned, to the President of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, with the stipulation to be awarded, by competition, one every year starting this year, to the student who will write the best thesis about Romania.[45]

41 Ibid, 27.
42 Ibid, 29.
43 Ibid, 48–49.
44 Ibid, 64.
45 Ibid, 79.

The Legation reported that "The Secretary of Columbia University in New York has recently announced a new award, known as the McDonald Medal." The first medal would be awarded in June, the topic being: *The Formation of the Romanian Race from Ancient Times to the Fifteenth Century*. The essay was recommended to be between four and six thousand words.

The committee consisted of the Committee Chairman, Professor Geroid Robinson of the Department of History, Professors John Gerig, Celtic language specialist, and Clarence A. Manning, assistant professor of Slavonic languages at the University. In a letter sent by the Legation to the General Director of Press and Propaganda in Bucharest, D.D. Dimăncesu, it appears that the prize awarded to the student who wrote the best thesis about Romania was presented at the end of the academic year 1937–1938 to the student George Rabinovici from Bucharest, enrolled at Columbia University.[46] The medal's awarding announcement appeared in the University's publication *Annual Commencement*, and a copy of Rabinovici's thesis entitled *The History of Russo-Romanian Relations from the Congress of Berlin to the Present* was also published there. The thesis did not seem "too friendly with Romania," according to the Note sent by the Romanian Legation in Washington:

> Whereas Mr. McDonald instituted this prize with the contest of our Legation at Washington and the Press Directorate, and how, on the other hand. The awarded thesis is shown to be rather unfriendly or even in bad faith towards Romania, I would like to ask you to please decide on the steps to be taken to avoid such inconveniences on the occasion of the other McDonald medals that are to be distributed.[47]

Transmitted to Bucharest, the text was analyzed by archaeologist Radu Vulpe, who drafted a report. Renowned historian graduate of the School of Rome, Radu Vulpe expressed his regret regarding the commission's decision:

> It would have been expected that the awarding of these distinctions corresponded most perfectly to the beautiful intentions that urged Mr. McDonald to institute them.[48]

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[46] Ibid, 91.

[47] Ibid, 94.

[48] Ibid, 95.

The author of the thesis, originally from Romania, enrolled as a student at Columbia University in New York, "proves that the trust placed in the seriousness of the American university commission, which had to award the first of the five medals, was deceived." Concretely, Radu Vulpe reproached the author: "The problem of Romanian-Russian relations, especially in the part relative to our province across the Prut, is put in a completely false light and harmful to Romanian interests;" "from the very beginning of the work, he seeks to show that until 1877, the Bessarabian question was an exclusively Russo-Turkish affair;" he stated that in 1812, Moldova would not have had any autonomy and that it would have constituted a simple province of the Portia;" claims, without any restriction, that in 1856 the three Danube counties of Bessarabia would have been ceded directly to Turkey when in reality they had been attached to the autonomous Principality of Moldavia:"

> As for the occupation of Bessarabia by the Romanian troops, he presents this operation as a premeditated invasion by the Romanian government to console himself by giving up Transylvania […]. Romania would then have only taken advantage of the state of a young republic that did not have its own troops to resist […].

The Report also stated that "The work reaches the current situation with the statement that Romania would have left its alliance with Czechoslovakia because HM King Carol II opposed the conclusion of a treaty of mutual assistance with Russia"; the author ended his tendentious thesis with the conclusion that:

> […] as long as King Carol maintains his personal dictatorship and his will is imposed on the nation, the irreconcilability of his personal point of view with the socialist ideal will be the cause of a serious rupture between Romania and the Soviet Union.

At the end of the Report, Radu Vulpe states that it is practically impossible to go back on the content of the thesis. He proceeded to recommend:

> [...] that our Legation at Washington's attention be called to this case and requested to take all possible steps to secure for the future a more conscientious award of the other four medals and more favorable to our interests.[49]

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[49] Ibid, 94.

Furthermore, he recommended,

> [...] to draw the attention of Mr. MacDonalds to the way in which his good faith has been abused and to recommend him to supervise closely how the gift made by the "Columbia" University of New York will be used.

Asked to provide an answer regarding the conduct of the contest, the Romanian Legation mentioned that:

> Columbia University did not meet the conditions that had been established for the awarding of the MacDonald Medals. Student Rabinovici's thesis was not seen by any representative of the Legation, and the Medal's awarding was learned by the Legation from the journals. Columbia University acted unilaterally and arbitrarily. Every effort will be made to avoid the same procedure on the part of the University in the future.[50]

The MacDonald Medal episode highlights the limits of Romania's Washington diplomacy, compromising an opportunity to promote national interests, especially since the delicate issue of Bessarabia was under discussion. According to the project, the Romanian minister in Washington authorized the competition as an arbitrator. The thesis assumed the perspective of Russian and Soviet historiography, which consistently maintained that Bessarabia was taken from Turkey in 1812. In one of the most cited histories of Russia, written by Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, professor at the University of California, Berkeley, a book which has known six editions, also published in Romania at the European Institute, mentioned that "The Treaty of Bucharest, hastily concluded by Kutuzov, on the eve of the invasion of Russia by Napoleon, brought Bessarabia and a portion of the eastern coast of the Black Sea to Russia […]."[51] Regarding the Treaty of 1856, signed by the great European powers with Russia after the Crimean War, it is stated that "Russia cedes the mouths of the Danube and part of Bessarabia to Turkey."[52] In fact, Russia was ceding three counties in southern Bessarabia to Moldova. Regarding 1918, the author wrote that, compared to the old Romanov Empire, the USSR

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[50] Ibid, 27.

[51] Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *O istorie a Rusiei* (Iași: Institutul European, 2001), 323.

[52] Ibid, 354.

lost Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Polish territories. He had also lost western Ukraine and western Belarus to Poland, western Bessarabia to Romania, and the Kars-Ardahan area in Transcaucasia, transferred to the Turks.[53] Charting Russia's foreign policy in the interwar period, Nicholas V. Riasanovsky showed that in 1933, the United States "finally" recognized the Soviet Union, obtaining from it the usually unbelievable promise to end communist propaganda on its territory.[54] The Columbia University episode proves that Soviet propaganda was still present in the US. About the 1940 moment, it is written that: "Finally, in the summer of 1940, the USSR used its agreement with Germany to obtain Bessarabia as well as Northern Bucovina from Romania."[55] "The Medal's story" confirms the finding of the Romanian diplomat Vasile Stoica about the Russian propaganda in the USA, which includes *Monarchists*, *Republicans*, *Bolsheviks*. As communist power consolidated, Moscow took a foreign policy "in the direction of traditionalism and nationalism, acquiring a pronounced Russian character."[56]

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[53] Ibid, 502. As Iaşi historian Mihai Cojocaru, the book's editor, also mentioned in the footnote, there is no eastern Bessarabia, and therefore no western one. The Russians used the name Bessarabia to suggest that the territory between the Prut and Dniester is a different country than Moldova.

[54] Ibid, 527.

[55] Ibid, 530.

[56] Ibid, 524.

From American Children to Romanian Children. Post-War Dialogue and Humanitarian Aid. Case Study *Junior Red Cross* News Magazine[*]

Daniel Citirigă

The United States of America was almost a hundred years away from the isolationist policy initiated by President James Monroe when, in 1917, it joined the war alongside the Entente. However, America was not only changing its foreign policy tradition by crossing the Ocean, it was also going to establish *a new international order*. American and European political thought was on markedly different positions. Woodrow Wilson regarded *the balance of power* system as the source of evil, the real reason for the outbreak of the Great War. In order to counter the European approach, the president would adapt to the realities at the end of the conflagration, supporting the *self-determination* of peoples, including those for whom he had initially envisioned an autonomous development within the Austro-Hungarian Empire when he had read the Fourteen Points in Congress, on January 8, 1918. At the same time, through the last point, he set up the establishment of the League of Nations, with the aim of avoiding wars in the future, where justice and laws should take the place of force and where the powerful would have the same rights as the masses. As early as 1916, in Cincinnati, he declared:

> Our heart goes out to these helpless people who are being crushed and whom we would like to save. America does not believe in the rights of small nations

[*] This chapter was supported by the Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding-UEFISCDI, the National Research Council – CNCS, the Ministry of National Education (Romania), Project PN-III-P4-PCE-2021–0688, Contract 29 from 27 May 2022, title *The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940)*.

> merely because we are big and they are helpless and the big ought not to impose upon the helpless. But we believe in them because, when we think of the sufferings of mankind, we forget where political boundaries lie, and say, "These people are of the flesh and blood of mankind, and America is made up out of the peoples of the world."[1]

For the first time, a great power was putting forward a proposal for a world policy based on morality, pacifism, and international institutions. Humans, from the Wilsonian perspective, possessed a good, peaceful foundation, just like free and democratic peoples. As Henry Kissinger, one of the critics of President Wilson's policy, pointed out, "on the ruins and in the disillusionment of three years of slaughter, America stepped into the international arena with a confidence, strength and idealism that were inconceivable to its exhausted allies."[2] American idealism and civility had been experienced by a part of the European peoples since the war when the society across the Ocean had sent aid and volunteers through various humanitarian organizations. The most important of these was the American Red Cross, which benefitted from the support of the White House, the State Department, and the War Department, and the numbers do not require much explanation: in 1919, according to the president of the American Red Cross War Council, the organization had raised more than $400 million and included more than twenty-two million adult members.[3]

Nevertheless, adults were not the only ones who participated in this worldwide effort, but also their children. Following President Woodrow Wilson's appeal to young people, the Junior Red Cross was founded in 1917, and at the end of the war, Red Cross youth organizations were also found in Australia and Canada.[4] At its peak, Red Cross Junior totaled 11

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1 Larry Wolff, *Woodrow Wilson and the Reimagining of Eastern Europe* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2020), 20.

2 Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy,* trans. Mircea Ștefancu and Radu Paraschivescu (Bucharest: All, 2008), 191.

3 Henry P. Davison, *The American Red Cross in the Great War* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), 395.

4 The idea of involving children and schoolchildren in humanitarian activities originated in the context of the late 19th and early 20th-century conflicts, a first such initiative taking

million members, which represented about half of US schoolchildren, while in the interwar period, their number never fell below four million.[5] Amidst the war, their actions in favor of the European allies had the support of American citizens for various reasons. For some of them, it was a form of contributing to the victory of the Allies, for others, it was the manifestation of a new way of doing politics, a Wilsonian vision, in which national citizenship was part of universal citizenship, and, as Julia F. Irwin posits, "to be a good American citizen required to be, likewise, a good citizen of the world."[6] However, such an approach also involved matching opponents: The League of Nations placed itself in opposition to the isolationist policy, a nightmare for nationalists who invoked the American diplomacy tradition of non-alliance with the Old Continent, and, at the same time, it provided an opportunity for the "anti-British fanatics," in accordance with Charles Zorgbibe's formula.[7] As early as 1917, to counteract these nationalist tendencies, teachers, and pedagogues, supporters of the Wilsonian vision, in collaboration with the Junior Red Cross, introduced into the school curriculum subjects aimed at strengthening the idea of universal peace in the minds of future generations. While during the conflagration, such an internationalist vision was accepted, immediately after its conclusion, the chorus of critics became increasingly consistent.

This is the context in which, in 1919, young Americans launched the "Junior Red Cross News," the magazine where news about the activity of the Red Cross was published both in America and in the states, which benefitted from American aid, but this was not its only purpose. The texts

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place in the Netherlands, prompted by the need for humanitarian aid at the end Franco-Prussian War J. Gomez Ruiz, "How the Red Cross Junior Was Born," *International Review of the Red Cross* 36 (March 1964), https://international-review.icrc.org/articles/how-junior-red-cross-was-born.

55 Julia F. Irwin, "«Teaching Americanism with a World Perspective»: The Junior Red Cross in the U.S. Schools from 1917 to the 1920s," *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (August 2013): 258.

6 Ibid, 257.

7 Charles Zorgbibe, *Wilson. A Crusader at the White House*, trans. Daniela Boriceanu (Bucharest: Fundația Europeană Titulescu, 2003), 346–9.

wished for a dialogue between civilizations, from Japan to America and Europe, with topics about children's literature, traditional costumes, customs, etc. In order to discover other civilizations, stories about war-affected peoples and communities, articles, and photographs relevant to readers in the United States of America were featured. In the same year, the Australian edition appeared, then a Spanish and even a Braille edition were released.[8] It is also interesting to note that the first issue of the *Junior Red Cross News* was issued in September 1919, in conjunction with President Wilson's tour of his own country to support the Treaty of Versailles, which was in danger of not being ratified in Congress; this actually happened in the end, which entailed America's non-participation in the League of Nations.

Hence, on the front page of the debut issue, President Wilson sent a message to the youth of his country, encouraging them to continue their wartime efforts. America, said Wilson, had been on the side of the victors "by the blessings of God and through the faithful performance of duty by our soldiers and sailors and the soldiers and sailors of the countries by whose side we fought." Then, he expressed his gratitude towards the work of the young people active in the *Junior Red Cross* and, at the same time, his conviction that "you wish to continue to be useful to your country and to children less fortunate than yourselves, […] to help children who are still suffering from the effects of the great war in foreign lands invaded by the enemy." In the president's view, by helping the children of other nations, young Americans will understand them better, and those young people, in turn, will all the more understand and appreciate those in the US. At the end of this programmatic text, Woodrow Wilson emphasized his worldview, a sample of what we call *Wilsonism* nowadays, the essence of the universal thought of the one who believed in global peace and the League of Nations:

> Your education will not be complete unless you learn how to be good citizens, and the Junior Red Cross plans to teach you simple lessons of citizenship

[8] Whitney Hopkins, "From the Archives – Junior Red Cross News," https://redcrosschat.org/2013/10/23/from-the-archives-junior-red-cross-news/.

> through its organization and its activities. It is your generation which must carry on the work of our generation at home and abroad and you cannot begin too soon to train your minds and habits for this responsibility. By doing what you can to make happier the people of your own neighborhood, your state, your country and also the people of other lands, you will make yourselves happier.[9]

The new magazine, whose motto was "I serve," published about twenty pages each month on topics of interest to young Americans. Researching it brings a new perspective on the concepts of "Americanism" and "Wilsonism" as it delved into the manner in which the idea of generosity was presented to young people, how liberal and humanist principles were intertwined with nationalist ones, and the American perception of European peoples. Moreover, we believe the "children's dialogue" reflects adult thought from both sides of the Ocean. Thus, at least two components are relevant in this discussion: an ideological one and an imagological one.

In the 35 issues containing references to Romania, we can detect several methods by which young American readers discovered the distant European country. Firstly, Romania appeared in texts dedicated to various states, whether it was about the American aid sent across the ocean or a theater scene published featuring American students, with Romanian children also playing a role. Secondly, another method of entering the universe of Romanian society was based on reading recommendations or short literary texts dedicated to Romania in the pages of the magazine. Thirdly, an important source consisted of the reports and letters of the American Junior Red Cross representatives in Romania. Fourthly, an extremely interesting source is the letters that Romanian students would send to their colleagues across the Ocean, and, last but not least, the image of Romania was promoted through pictures and photographs published in the pages of the magazine.

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9 Woodrow Wilson, "To the Schoolchildren of the United States," *Junior Red Cross News* 1, no. 1 (September 1919): 1, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1919–09_1_1

Romania in the Children's League

The American Red Cross had gone through its first experience in Romania during the war when, in September 1917, a team led by Colonel Henry W. Anderson was welcomed here.[10] The Bolshevik revolution, the dissolution of the Russian army, and the conclusion of the Brest Litovsk peace had brought the Romanian government into an extremely difficult situation. In the spring of 1918, amidst the signing of the separate peace in Bucharest, the mission of the American Red Cross was withdrawn from Romania, and the remaining aid was distributed through the Romanian government and various organizations.[11] Nevertheless, after the war, Queen Marie appealed once again to the benevolence of the country across the ocean, and almost a year after the departure of the American Red Cross from Iași, on February 25th, 1919, a new team arrived in Galați aboard the ship "Emperor Trajan," led by lieutenant colonel H. Gideon Wells. At the end of this mission, the American Red Cross had spent several million dollars, with extraordinary benefits for the population affected by famine and disease.[12] Although the mission withdrew in 1922, a program carried out through Romanian organizations, which lasted until 1930, was also financed from American funds.[13] Thus, we can distinguish several phases of the aid provided by the American Red Cross after the war: until 1920, there were medical aid and general goods donations, when, for several months, tons of medicine and food were loaded in the port of Constanța; then, in the second stage, a team of six nurses was maintained for a short time, until finally, only Agnes von

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[10] *The Work in Europe of the American Red Cross. A Report to the American People by the Red Cross War Council,* American Red Cross (Washington D.C., 1917), 53–54. Ion Stanciu, "The Work of the American Red Cross in Romania during the First World War and in 1919," *Pages from the Past of Medicine* (Bucharest: Editura Medicală 1983), 627–35.

[11] *The Work of the American Red Cross during the War. A Statement of Finances and Accomplishments for the Period July 1, 1917 to February 28, 1919* (Washington, D.C.: American Red Cross, 1919), 81.

[12] Charles J. Vopicka, *Secrets of The Balkans* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1921), 300.

[13] Ion Stanciu, *Allies without an alliance. Romania and the USA (1914–1920),* 2nd ed. (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, 2010), 242.

Kurowsky[14] of the American Junior Red Cross remained. She would take care of the children from the orphanages and sanatoriums of Bucharest, Breaza, and Techirghiol,[15] and, at the same time, it is obvious that she would be an important source in the description of Romania for the Junior Red Cross News magazine.

In this context, the first reference to Romania can be found in the issue of January 1920, the fourth since the publication of the aforementioned magazine, in an article dedicated to orphans from various countries – France, Italy, Albania, Yugoslavia, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland – who, as the publication asserted, were building a wave of friendship for their American colleagues.[16] Then, in April 1920, among other photos showing children from the states of the world where the American Red Cross was present, they also included the image of a girl from Romania, dressed in traditional costume, with a necklace made of coins, which covered her chest and abdomen, a photo accompanied by the text "A fashionable caller at a Red Cross station in Romania. Her coin bib was her grandmother's."[17]

In the September 1920 issue, the 300th anniversary of the Pilgrims' settlement in Plymouth, Massachusetts, was celebrated, an event honored throughout the entire territory of the United States. On this occasion, Louis Franklin Bache wrote a play, especially for the Junior Red Cross, entitled "Mayflower Town. A Play of Plymouth," where the main characters were Mr. and Mrs. Winslow and their children, together with an Indian friend, while the generic characters were the pilgrims, who reproduced the scene

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[14] Agnes von Kurowsky was an American nurse, known for brief romance with Ernest Hemingway in Italy in 1918, and she inspired the character "Catherine Barkley" in his novel "A Farewell to Arms" (1929). See Henry Villard, James Nagel, *Heminway in Love and War: The Lost Diary of Agnes Von Kurowsky, Her Letters and Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989).

[15] Lavinia L. Dock et al., *History of American Red Cross Nursing* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 2022), 1196.

[16] *Junior Red Cross News* 1, no. 4 (January 1920): 10, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1920–01_1_4.

[17] *Junior Red Cross News* 4, no. 7 (April 1920): 8, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1920–04_1_7.

painted by George Henry Boughton, entitled “Pilgrims Going to Church” (1867). Also, they were joined by the old bell ringer reproduced in the work “Ring! Ring for Liberty” by Henry Mosler, the person who fired the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia. This second group also included Junior Red Cross children, each from Belgium, France, Italy, Greece, Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, China, and the Virgin Islands. The message of the text was one that identified with the Christian and universal personality of President Woodrow Wilson. Incidentally, the name chosen for the owner of the house is similar to that of the American president. At one point, Mr. Winslow tells Squanto, the Indian who brings fruit as a gift and whom he considers a friend: “all are brothers in the New World, – red men, white men. Each must understand the other,” which is why everyone had to know other people's language, in order to understand each other as well as possible.[18]

The same group of nations mentioned above then appeared in a motivational text a few pages later in the same issue, as American children were being encouraged to practice any initiative that could promote a happy childhood, starting from the idea that the cooperative effort in favor of the less fortunate children is one of the actions that best develops the civic spirit. Therefore, the Juniors from Dayton, Ohio, made “the most attractive and original albums for children in Romania,” after which they continued their work in order to be able to offer such gifts to the children's departments from the hospitals in their city. At the same time, the Dayton Manual Training School Juniors sent 400 tables and chairs to the war-torn areas of Europe.[19] Shortly thereafter, a list of vocational schools in Albania, Italy, Montenegro, France appeared, while in the case of Romania, it was mentioned that the National Houses organization was founded, under whose auspices an

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[18] Louis Franklin Bache, “Mayflower Town. A Play of Plymouth,” *Junior Red Cross News* 2, no. 1 (September 1920): 6, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1920–09_2_1.

[19] “Our Own Expansive Homeland,” *Junior Red Cross News* (See Note 19): 11, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1920–09_2_1/page/10/mode/2up.

industrial school was developed in cooperation with the Junior Red Cross, aiming to bring old crafts back to life.[20]

Then, in October 1921, a new play was published, written by the same Louise F. Bache, in which a mother recounted the legend of a knight in the service of the good queen Gloriana. He offered to fight against a monster that had conquered the earth and imprisoned the parents of a young princess in a brass castle. The father of the young princess had also once ruled over a powerful country. Thus, the knight put himself in her service, wearing on this occasion the magical armor brought by the young woman: *Its belt was Truth; its breast-plate Righteousness; his shield was Faith*, and because of the red cross on his breastplate and his silver shield, he became known as the Knight of the Red Cross. In reality, the play claimed that the Knight's real name was *Service*, and the maiden he served was called *Love*. After a difficult fight, the monster was killed, and happiness and peace were restored to the people. The mother continued to explain to the children that in contemporary reality, there were even more dangerous monsters than the one in the story, cunning creatures that assumed many identities. One of these was the monster *War*, whose name carried terror wherever it was heard, and wherever this monster went, it carried with it two other terrible creatures—*Famine* and *Disease*. Meanwhile, the *War* monster rushed onto the stage, snorting and roaring in rage, causing the children to become frightened and to get closer to their mother. "The victims that War does not claim, they seek to devour. Because the children are weakest, these cowards attack them first." The play continued with the children's struggle to save those in danger from *Famine* and *Disease*. The entire Europe was depicted in such danger. "All through Romania War had dragged its scaly body and let loose its poisonous breath. Thousands of little ones were left by the wayside, weak and defenseless. Many of these Junior Champions found and gathered into safekeeping." A group of Romanian children entered the scene. Eventually, at the end, when

[20] Vocational and Home Schools, *Junior Red Cross News* 3, no. 1 (September 1920: 7, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1921–09_3_1/page/6/mode/2up.

the little listeners expressed their desire to be Junior Champions too, the mother addressed the audience: "herein lies the biggest and most powerful league the world has ever seen – the League of children for children," which she predicted would become so big that one day it would encompass the entire globe.[21]

In an article dedicated to the traditional costumes of different peoples, it was highlighted that the Romanian peasants cut these costumes themselves and decorated them with beautiful embroidery, which is why it had become well-known all over the world, with each region displaying its own identity. The greatest admirer of the Romanian costume was considered to be Queen Marie, who wore it whenever she had the opportunity. On the page where these costumes were presented, two young women from Romania were depicted while weaving, and in the details related to this image, the editors drew attention to the fact that the sleeves of the traditional shirts they wore were heavily embroidered.[22] Moreover, in an article dedicated to the Pueblo Indians, there was a picture of a mother and her children, one of whom she was holding in her arms, as it was a baby. The photo also showed the crib attached to the ceiling with ropes; the editors of the magazine pointed out that this suspended cradle of the Pueblo Indians of Isleta, New Mexico, was very similar to those used by the peasants in Romania.[23]

The February 1924 issue featured two girls weaving on the cover, dressed in traditional clothes, and from the explanatory text, readers learned that they were from Romania.[24] Subsequently, from an article dedicated to

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[21] Louise F. Bache, "The Queens's Champion," *Junior Red Cross News* 3 no. 2 (October 1921): 23, 30, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1921–10_3_2/page/22/mode/2up.

[22] Louis Franklin Bache, drawings by Anna Milo Upjohn, "Quaint Stories about Costumes of Many Races," *Junior Red Cross News* 4. no. 3 (November 1922): 34, 36, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–11_4_3/page/36/mode/2up

[23] Anna Milo Upjohn, "Among the Pueblo Indians," *Red Cross Junior News* 4, no. 6 (February 1923): 86, 87, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1923–02_4_6/page/n1/mode/2up.

[24] *American Junior Red Cross News* (February 1924), https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1924–02_5_6/mode/2up.

American children who sent gifts to other countries on the occasion of Christmas, we were informed that on that list, in addition to the old partner countries, such as Romania and Italy, other, apparently new ones were added, such as Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Estonia. They received gift packages on the occasion of Christmas. From Romania, a message was published that had probably been written when the idea of the packages was still in the project stage, considering that the Romanian Red Cross stated that "the children will be delighted. They would realize the thoughtfulness and kindness of the American children better than in any other way." The representatives from Bucharest promised to send data about each school that would receive these packages, but also that the Romanian children would write letters of thanks to the American children.[25]

In the March 1926 issue, in a play organized by young people in Tennessee, students from other countries wrote responses to letters they had received from their American classmates. The text was also accompanied by images in which children from these countries were represented, with Romania featuring a boy dressed traditionally, carrying fruit to the market. Representatives of Czechoslovak, Italian, Polish, Dutch, Japanese, Canadian, English, Swiss, French, Austrian, Yugoslav youth entered the scene. Through a little girl, Romania announced that the motto adopted by her country was "One for the Other." She added that a girls' school adopted an orphanage and organized events for the children there, whereas other young people learned various trades, such as bookbinding, weaving, or they worked in the school garden, earning money for future actions. Then, the boy representing Romania announced that one of the boys' schools staged a play, and with the money collected, bricks were bought to build a new school. It was also emphasized that they contributed to maintaining a sanatorium for disabled children near the Black Sea. In the same issue, an article entitled "The Cedar Tree" was reproduced from the Romanian Red Cross of Youth

[25] "The February News in the School," *Junior Red Cross News* (See Note 25): 83, 87, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1924–02_5_6/page/n3/mode/2up.

Magazine. It recounted the legend of a tree that was envied by the other plants because it had grown bigger than them, which is why it would have to be cut down, but even so, it would end up being the pride of the royal ship, where it was erected as a mast.[26]

In the November 1926 issue, once again in the form of a play, scenes from the lives of the little ones involved in the Red Cross were reproduced. The third scene of the play was dedicated to the Romanians, who were described as "a band of brushers," having learned the "Game of Health" from American children, school nurses, and health centers that had made them healthy. Immediately after these words, announced on a speaker, a Romanian boy with a dirty face entered the scene; the others caught him and washed him with soap and water, after which, turning into a clean and smiling boy, he became part of the group of cleaners. The text was accompanied by a photo of a Romanian child with a book in his hand, captioned "A scrap book sent by Red Cross Juniors to crippled in a Romanian summer colony."[27]

Romania from Memories and Literary Creations

Another source of information for young Americans regarding the countries they helped through the Junior Red Cross was memoirs or fiction. Hence, even during the war, a series of publications were dedicated to the allied states and peoples. These would be reproduced and promoted in the pages of the magazine under discussion. The September 1920 issue of "Junior Red Cross News" concluded with a letter from the editors to readers, not before recommending some reading, in the "We Go to Explore – Everywhere" section. Thus, young readers were directed to travel readings or memoirs, which described the places they supported through their humanitarian actions.

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26 Helen Kersey, "Friends from Overseas," *Junior Red Cross News* 7, no. 7 (March 1926): 119–20, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1926–03_7_7/page/120/mode/2up.

27 Ethel Blair Jordan, "What Becomes of It," *Junior Red Cross News* 8, no. 3 (November 1926): 51, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1926–11_8_3/page/50/mode/2up.

For example, in order to discover Greece, the works *Under Greek Skies* by Julia D. Dragoumis and *Our Little Greek Cousin* by Mary F. Nixon-Roulet were recommended. In order to explore the Balkans, the recommendation was Roy Trevor's volume, *My Balkan Tour*, while for the discovery of Romania, American children and young people were recommended the work of J.S. Van Teslaar, *When I Was a Boy in Roumania*. Published in Boston in 1917, this was the true story of the author's childhood, spent in Romania, but written as an adult who emigrated to the United States of America; as a preamble, readers learned that schools in Romania generally closed at sunset.[28] In addition, at the end of the January 1922 issue, which had numerous references to Romania, along with other useful readings for the discovery of the peoples of the Balkans, two volumes about Romania were recommended as well: the same volume by James S. Van Teslaar, and *Our Little Rumanian Cousin*, by Clara Vostrovsky Winlow, which was also published in Boston, 1917.[29]

James S. Van Teslaar was born in Bacău. He had spent his childhood in Romania, after which he emigrated and became a well-known psychiatrist in America. His book, *When I Was a Boy in Roumania,* was published in February 1917 by Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, Boston, in the *Children of Other Lands Books* series. The publishers pointed out that there were many books about children in other countries, but none had the concept they were promoting, where each volume was written by someone who had spent their childhood in the described state, which made the volume attractive to American children or readers of any age. According to this model, volumes dedicated to childhood were published in China, Italy, Japan, Greece, Palestine, Belgium, Russia, and Holland. Teslaar's volume was rich in information, with descriptions related to daily life, clothing, occupations, holidays, traditions, customs, superstitions, childhood games, dances, music, military service, weddings, the story of Păcală, school days, life in Bucharest and, in

[28] "We Go to Explore Everywhere," *Junior Red Cross News* 2, no. 1 (September 1920): 15, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1920–09_2_1/page/14/mode/2up.

[29] "Balkan Trials in Books," *Junior Red Cross News* 3, no. 5 (January 1922): 79.

addition, it featured photos of peasants dressed traditionally or of Queen Elizabeth, King Ferdinand, the Carol I Bridge from Cernavodă, and the statue of Michael the Brave in Bucharest.[30]

The second recommended reading, *Our Little Rumanian Cousin*, by Clara Vostrovsky Winlow, also belonged to a series of books and was the story of Ioniță, a boy from Galați, who went to the doctor for an examination and was recommended a holiday in nature. Thus, for a month, he strolled with his family through places full of stories, where he met young people and saw interesting sights such as the citadel of Stephen the Great, Sinaia, and Bucharest, described as the "City of Pleasures," according to the etymology of the name. It is interesting that in the *Preface* of the book, there was a brief historical presentation of the Principalities, which indicated that they would have defended themselves much better together than separately, thus reaching the Union of 1859 (in the text, 1857 is wrong). It was also underpinned that the name Romania originated from the Roman colonization, hence the name "Romanians" or "Rumanians." Once independence was won, Romania became a powerful country, one of the largest exporters of wheat, but the danger of war in 1917 constituted a major setback for the Romanian state. Not by chance, the editors of the book ended this preface, dedicating it to the parents and brothers of "our cousin" who fought for Romania in the war. In the aftermath of this war, "no one knows what the results of this terrible fight will be."

> The brave fathers and brothers of our little Roumanian cousins took their places in the battle line to defend their homes in the great war that is now being fought in Europe. No one knows what the outcome of this terrible struggle will be. Will Roumania be destroyed, or will she emerge a greater and more powerful country, standing for liberty and justice? Time only will tell, the preamble to Ioniță's story ended on this note.[31]

In the issue of November 1920, the same Louis Franklin Bache returned with a story entitled *The Bear Trainer's Wife*, which reproduced a scene that

[30] James S. Van Teslaar, *When I Was a Boy in Roumania (*Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1917).
[31] Clara Vostrovsky Winlow, *Our Little Roumanian Cousin* (Boston: The Page Company, 1917), 5–7.

happened in Romania on the occasion of the *Junior Red Cross* arrival. In this context, Nitzoi, the leader of a Roma camp, "of medium height, slender, swarthy, with dark flashing eyes, a brilliant smile and the strength of a lion," supported his family with the help of his tame bear. According to the story published in "Junior Red Cross News," Nitzoi had just returned from a week-long trip, proud of the jingle of money in his ragged pockets, full of new stories and flaunting an optimistic attitude. The issue was that the whole Roma camp was seething. Maria, Nitzoi's wife, listening to the gentle words of the white-faced strangers, entrusted their three children to their care. Nitzoi could not believe what he was hearing and seeing. An old woman with curly hair, who was mixing the corn flour meal with water in an iron pot swinging over the fire, swore she had done everything possible: "you not put on curse on me, Nitzoi," she yelled. "I did all I could to keep the Evil One from casting his bad eye upon us. While the white foreigners were here, I brewed the herbs and said all the charms I knew from the beginning to the end and back again." Unfortunately, she said, nothing worked because they had convinced Maria from the very start. So as to be persuasive that the "supreme evil" was right there, the old woman described him as a foreigner with "red hair and blue eyes." Nitzoi beat his chest irately and, spitting, scolded Maria: "you gave my children to strange people, you Maria, a Romani, wife of Nitzoi, the chief of the camp." Maria, feeling wronged, jumped to her feet and, with shining eyes, denied that this was the reality, taking it upon herself that if the strangers did not give her children back, as they promised, she would leave the camp and her people for good. But from her point of view, it all started with the fact that one of the women in the Roma camp lost her child, and, respecting the tradition, she punished herself by hitting her body so that the evil spirits would not stay with her. At that moment, the strangers intervened, claiming that what the woman was doing was wrong, "and their faces and words were kind." Moreover, the foreigners told them that there were no evil spirits and that their fears and superstitions were nonsense. All this while, Nitzoi did not understand what his wife had been doing outside the camp. Maria, however, told him

how, at one point, they heard the sound of a car going without being pulled by oxen. While other girls went to dance, hoping to get money from the strangers, she went to beg for sweets for her sick children, as it had been heard that the strangers had been kind to the children of another camp. They had given them food and clothes and treated the sick. This was the context in which they came and took the children to heal them, with the promise that after they were healed, they would give them back to Mary. Nitzoi threatened that if she did not come back with the children, neither he nor the bear would eat anything until he was avenged. After a few days, Maria sneaked into the Junior Red Cross station, where she fell on her knees upon meeting an American nurse. "My children," said Maria, "my people say you have made way with my little ones." On hearing this, the nurse led the terrified and trembling mother into a parlor where brown-faced, black-haired children were lying in clean white beds. "It is well to believe only half of what one hears," said Maria while kissing the American nurse's hand. "I shall believe the white foreigners and shall make known their miracles around every camp fire."[32] In the same issue, the projects that Red Cross Junior had at that time in Albania, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, China, Poland, and Romania were mentioned. Thus, in 1920, there were records of a hospital for malnourished children in Constanța, as well as an industrial school in Bucharest and one in Bessarabia.[33]

Romania, through the Eyes of American Nurses and Children

One of the most important resources for reconstructing the activity of the American Red Cross is represented by the reports sent by those who led these missions. Such a report, which described the atmosphere at one of the

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[32] Louis Franklin Bache, "The Bear Trainer's Wife," *Junior Red Cross News* 2, no. 3 (November 1920): 38, https://ar.hive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1920–11_2_3/page/38/mode/2up

[33] "Junior Projects in Many Lands," *Junior Red Cross News* 2, no. 3 (November 1920): 39, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1920–11_2_3/page/38/mode/2up.

centers in Romania, was published in the March 1921 issue of the *Junior Red Cross News*. According to the document,

> There is cleanliness and order and quiet, regular habits within the walls of the simple peasant house that shelters the twenty-five war orphans who for the moment make up this Junior Red Cross in Breaza, Romania. The girls are bright-eyed, pink-cheeked, upstanding, and they bend over looms, spinning wheels, and embroidery frames, the lovely colors and soft fabric taking new form and beauty under their deftly moving hands, they make a picture that I wish with all my heart could be passed on to all who have made this come to pass.

The editors of the magazine added that the house mentioned in Breaza was only a small part of the activity of the Junior Red Cross in Romania, which also included an orphanage of 225 children in Constanța, recreational and industrial activities in the sanatorium of Techirghiol, and an orphanage of 300 children in Chișinău.[34]

The January 1922 issue dedicated a page to Arabella Smith's visit in Romania, a young American woman and member of the Junior Red Cross. She was accompanied by her aunt, who wrote for various magazines and who believed that children should be looked at, listened to, and carried everywhere, just like an umbrella or a raincoat, but not as an accessory, for if you did not take them, you would worry about them not being with you. The two arrived in the port of Constanța on November 25, on Thanksgiving Day, and, immediately after disembarking, they had a rather poor meal of black bread and coffee and tried not to think about the traditional American turkey. Afterwards, they took "a dilapidated motor car," which they used to travel to Techirghiol, where there was a hospital for malnourished children, helped by the American Juniors. After a terrible road, "as fool of holes as a mince pie is of raisins," they reached the shore of Lake Techir, famous for its water and for the mud with medical value. The hospital they were visiting

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[34] "Little Stories from Foreign Fields," *Junior Red Cross News* 2, no. 7 (March 1921): 107, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1921–03_2_7/page/106/mode/2up?view=theater.

had 350 girls and boys housed in long halls with beds covered with brightly colored blankets crocheted by the Juniors at home. Two teachers, supported by the Junior Red Cross, went to each bed and educated them in various crafts so that the long hours passed differently for the sick. The children received toys, games, equipment for gymnastics, and even embroidery from America, which made the young woman from across the ocean say upon returning to Constanța that "I had the "realest Thanksgiving feeling" I have ever had. Then, on November 30, accompanied by the head of the Junior Red Cross in Romania, Mary Moran, Arabella Smith, and her aunt visited the School of Arts and Crafts of Bucharest. On December 1, after a long and bumpy road, they visited another school in Breaza financed by American children through the Junior Red Cross. The latter was founded by a Romanian colonel, and, the article noted, it was the first project of a community center in Romania. The girls hailed from all over the country and had come to Breaza to learn the old handicrafts of the Romanian peasants. Hence, they wove their own clothes and linens, embroidered them with traditional motifs, and, at the same time, regularly attended lessons on various topics. Two nurses whom the American Junior Red Cross had sent there opened a children′s clinic nearby, which contributed greatly to the health of the whole community. At the same time, the girls came in groups to the small peasant house where the nurses lived, they stayed for two weeks, during which time they learned minimal elements of housekeeping and health. After completing this internship, they were to return to their hometowns and open similar centers where, in turn, they would teach other girls. "How much this will mean for Romania one day!" Arabella thought. So that the visit to Romania should be truly one to tell, on December 6, the little girl American girl went to the Palace, like "Pussy Cat in the nursery room," where she saw Queen Marie. The sovereign sent all her love to the children of America, while Princess Ileana, the queen′s youngest daughter, wrote a special letter from Pelișor. The document was reproduced in the American children′s magazine alongside a photo of the young princess and dated October 1920:

> Dear Children of the Junior Red Cross, I want to thank you very much for all your generosity towards my Country`s Children. You have no idea how you all have helped us. Some day I hope to come and thank you personally," signed Ileana, the princess of Romania.[35]

In the same issue, the map of the Balkans was also published, with each point where the Junior Red Cross developed activities in Romania, namely Constanța, Techirghiol, Bucharest, and Breaza.[36]

In the issue of March 1922, the readers of the magazine were informed that contributions to the Children's Sanatorium in Techirghiol had stopped since the end of the previous year and that since then, the institution could continue to function on its own. At the same time, the American children were at that point still contributing with aid to the Girls' Industrial School in Breaza. It was planned that a playground would be prepared that spring so that when the girls returned to their villages, they could take the idea of play with them. Then, according to one article, the American children also contributed with supplies for two children's city camps, while the small scholarships they offered to several hundred girls and boys, who were working to become teachers, spread the ideals of the Junior Red Cross throughout Romania. In those conditions, it was expected that in that year, Romania could have its own Junior Red Cross organization as a result of the help that the young Americans had offered.[37] At the end of the same issue, there was a photo of a little boy looking happily into the camera on a sunny beach, wearing a hat, and the caption read, "The love of American Juniors is reflected in this little boy's smile. He received assistance at the sanatorium for children, Techirghiol, Romania, at the Black Sea."[38]

In April 1922, an article was published about the visit of Junior Red Cross representatives to the school of Breaza. According to the author,

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35 "A Junior's Rumanian Diary," *Junior Red Cross News* 3, no. 5 (January 1922): 70, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–01_3_5/page/70/mode/2up.

36 "Hints for the Day's Work," *Junior Red Cross News* (See note 36): 78.

37 "Around the World," *Junior Red Cross News* 3, no. 7 (March 1922): 100, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–03_3_7/page/100/mode/2up.

38 "With Juniors of Other Lands," *Junior Red Cross News* 3, no. 7 (March 1922): 107, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–03_3_7/page/106/mode/2up.

Mary H. Moran, Romania was a small country in southeastern Europe, but in which the American Red Cross found much work. The road from Bucharest to Breaza was not without adventures. After preparing the car, loading it with blankets and clothes, with the luggage spread over the hood of the car, the nurses were stopped by the police in Câmpina. As a consequence of the fact that the driver had forgotten his documents, they were not allowed to continue the journey, as it was necessary for someone to return to Bucharest for the necessary documents. The representatives of the Red Cross asked to speak with the Câmpina police chief and, following the telephone conversation with him, upon hearing the news that they knew Colonel Manolescu, Major Poporici (Popovici?) jumped to his feet, took a pen, wrote something on a piece of paper and told them: "now you can travel anywhere in Romania!" Consequently, the journey continued to the school of Breaza, then to Alcena (Ocina?) "fourteen kilometers over the hills, and quite some hills!" They were on the verge of overturning the car three times, but the admirable scenery made up for it: winding roads, rolling hills, wooded slopes, open valleys, mountain peaks meeting the sky, snow-capped peaks. Then, the author, who was an assistant of the American Red Cross, said that they spent the day at the school in Breaza, and she would have liked the little readers to see it as it was on the spot but also bearing in mind the memory of the small half-starved group, in Bucharest, last winter. The house where the school of Breaza was located was far from perfect, but it benefited from the protection of the hills and the music of the Prahova River. The text was accompanied by a photograph, attributed to C. Sfetea, probably someone from Romania, in which there were two of the young women educated at the industrial school of Breaza, an institution which, according to this author, was assisted by the American Red Cross and financed by the National Children's Fund. Also, the explanations related to the photo detailed that the ideal of the Junior Red Cross was spread in Romania partly with the help of scholarships that were offered to hundreds of boys and girls who wanted to become teachers. On the next page, we also had an example of a donation from the school children of Sacramento,

California, which consisted of two hundred dollars going to the National Children's Fund. Out of these, 150 were directed to Albania, 30 to Romania, and 20 to the general European program.[39]

The next issue in which information about Romania appears is that of September 1922, when, in the section dedicated to reports about other countries, the Boys' Normal School in Chișinău was mentioned, a school which a few months before had received scholarships from the American Junior Red Cross. As a sign of gratitude, this school established "The Society for Mutual Help," which aimed to help all needy students. It was said that this was all the more impressive as it was known that the boys at this school were, for the most part, very poor. In the text of the association's statute, it was claimed:

> The help which was given to us by our overseas comrades has made a deep impression in our minds. We owe them many thanks both for the practical good and for the beautiful ideas they have planted in our hearts, which are the beginning of a great work which we shall certainly cultivate in the future.[40]

The October 1923 issue dedicated an entire page to Romania in an article titled *"One for the Other" in Romania*, inspired by the motto of the newly established organization, The Red Cross Youth, and which would have been nothing more than another way of saying "I serve," the motto of the American Junior Red Cross. At the beginning of the article, the authors mentioned one of the strange customs that had been preserved in Romania: at the sight of a friend approaching, the Romanian peasant woman would immediately take out a bucket of fresh water from a well built like in ancient times, and putting the bucket on her head, she came to greet the visitor. This gesture was symbolic and was associated with the saying, "May your life be full of happiness." According to a nurse of the American Junior Red

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[39] Mary H. Morman, "In Picturesque Rumania," *Junior Red Cross News* 3, no. 8 (April 1922): 126, 127, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–04_3_8/page/126/mode/2up.

[40] *Junior Red Cross News* 4, no. 1 (September 1922): 8, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–09_4_1/page/8/mode/2up.

Cross, "the Romanians are gay, alert, rather handsome, with dark hair and straight noses and usually with fine, dark eyes, under marked brows – distinctly Italian in appearance." She had noticed that they were quick learners, spoke several languages, and were polite and kind. The girls, with black, braided hair, went to school in a homemade colored woolen vest, under which they wore a white linen shirt with embroidered prints on the sleeves. The boys wore clothing similar to that of their ancestors, a short white tunic wrapped with a scarf over white trousers, and even in summer, the Dacian black lamb′s wool cap. Then, the role of children in everyday life was emphasized, as they were very involved and busy. They gathered plums and corn, drew water from the well, rang church bells, walked the animals, cut trees in the forest, and then herded them within fences and sheep pens. The girls took care of the babies, mixed the polenta (here the author also offered an explanation, according to which this was corn food) over the fire, and learned to spin wool and linen and embroider clothes and towels, which were the pride of every Romanian peasant woman. The nurse who wrote these lines noticed that they were all dedicated to education, some learned very quickly, and since the World War, they all worked to make a better and bigger Romania. The Red Cross Youth had its contribution to building a better and bigger Romania, inspired and helped by the American Junior Red Cross. The article mentioned that, at the beginning, the American students supported a children′s sanatorium in Techirghiol, a social center for girls in Breaza, and established a scholarship fund, which financed 325 Romanian students from thirteen normal state schools. The Red Cross Youth continued this work and one of the activities it still contributed heavily to was sending needy children to camps in the mountains or at the sea. It was also pointed out that in Bucharest, there was a lot of involvement and enthusiasm in the fight dedicated to orphaned and troubled children, the salons were much changed, and the children were offered solutions to spend their time. Red Cross Youth centers were formed in different parts of Romania, where more than 30,000 members were active, according to the same source. The text was accompanied by two images, one showing Princess Ileana, the

youngest of the royal family of Romania, as the president of the Red Cross Youth, and the second presenting a family of Romanians in a cart pulled by oxen; the caption explained that "Romanians are descended from the ancient Dacians and Romans."[41]

In the November 1923 issue, readers learned that in Romania, somewhere in Ilfov, in the commune of Hetare (the real name was actually Hotare), schoolchildren from the most recent educational institutions who joined the Red Cross Youth program grew vegetables to supplement reserves for the winter, but also for those in higher areas, where conditions were not favorable for agriculture. In addition, for these students, bookbinding was seen as another activity through which they learned a trade while also helping the school.[42]

In January 1924, in a section dedicated to *juniors* from other countries, the authors of the magazine wrote an article laid out on two columns, the first of which delved into the help given by the young people in America to their colleagues, while the second one dealt with the final result. In the case of Romania, they mentioned the support for the opening of Red Cross societies for youth, as well as a magazine in Romanian. The materials for clothing and weaving in the schools specialized in textiles were also brought into discussion. In terms of achievements, it was emphasized that following the motto "One for the other," the youth in Romania organized events for children in orphanages to make clothes, hats, woven baskets, books, etc., for the needy. Then, in the same context and for a better understanding of geography, there arose the necessity for American students to meet children from other states have joint activities so that they should develop vivid mental images of places, industry, or physical features of other states. The article stated that if these children had listened to the Hungarian children singing "in broken English" or had seen the Romanians making their own hats, not only would a different, much more practical geography had been

[41] "One for the Other» in Rumania," *Junior Red Cross News* 5, no. 2 (October 1923): 21, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1923–10_5_2/page/20/mode/2up

[42] "Among Juniors of Other Lands," 5, no. 3 (November 1923): 35, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1923–11_5_3/page/n3/mode/2up

made, but an important contribution would have been added to the creation of a world populated with friends. "Understanding and sympathy will gradually take the place of ignorance and distrust."[43] In the same issue, an article entitled "Rumanian Children are Grateful" mentioned the American aid given to the organization in Romania, the support of the organization and the Romanian magazine, the support of the sanatorium for the malnourished on the Black Sea coast, as well as help consisting in furniture for needy schools. One of these helped schools was the Boys′ Normal School in Constanța, and a recent report revealed that the students at this school staged a play, with the money raised on this occasion being used to buy bricks for a new school. The Girls′ Secondary School, which had also been helped by the American Red Cross, adopted the local orphanage and organized a party for the little ones. "This was done entirely by themselves," said a report. With materials from the American Junior Red Cross, they made clothes for all the poor children in town, followed by a shoemaking event to earn money for their projects, and they also cared for an orphan at school, according to the same report. Returning from Constantinople, one of the members of the Junior American Red Cross wrote:

> I wish you could see the joy in the Boys′ Normal School when they found that I left them money for materials for their basket weaving and for the straw hats which they are making. It was pitiful to see how the enthusiastic young professor in charge of the handwork had provided a few pieces of raffia, etc., from his own money so that the boys might have material to work with. They do beautiful work.[44]

Romania, Through the Eyes of its Students

In October 1921, in the preamble of an article devoted to correspondence with children from various countries, the latter invited their American colleagues

[43] "The January News in School," *Junior Red Cross News* 5, no. 5 (January 1924): 67, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1924–01_5_5/page/n3/mode/2up

[44] "Rumanian Children are Grateful," *Junior Red Cross News* 5, no. 5 (January 1924): 70, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1924–01_5_5/page/70/mode/2up.

to write to each other.[45] In this context, in October 1922, the letter of a few students from Constanța was published. The letter was addressed "to our American friends and schoolmates," and they thanked them both for the help they had sent over time and for the letters received from them, despite the distance. "If the Demon of War had not passed over our country, we would not have needed any monetary help. Our country is full of wealth," proudly affirmed the young Romanians. In this sense, salt, coal, copper, iron, gold, silver, and oil were acknowledged. A visit on horseback on the peaks of the mountains at Piatra Craiului, which scraped the clouds, would have enabled a view of the plains to the south, portrayed to be as yellow as gold, undulating in the wind, and of those full of corn, at the border of which the Danube passed on its way to the Black Sea. For the schoolchildren from Constanța, the riches of Romania were difficult to contain in a single letter, which is why they promised to come back and detail the history of the country in future correspondence. They signed "Your Friends in Romania – Pupils of the VI Class – The Normal School of Constanta;" inside the brackets, there was information that the students from this class would become teachers after graduating from the Normal School. Moreover, the text was accompanied by an image of a young woman and a child gathering vegetables, and below it, the caption, "Scene in the province of Moldavia, Romania." Pumpkins and squash are plentiful in the fall."[46]

On another occasion, in an article dedicated to the organization from various states, a letter from one of the young people living in Romania was published. He was enthusiastic about the evolution of the organization in the country and the involvement of the authorities. He stated that the Minister of Education had sent a letter to the principals of schools in the big cities, urging them to support the Red Cross Youth, enclosing the letters

[45] Dorothea Campbell, "Corresponding with Many Lands," *Junior Red Cross News* 3, no. 2 (October 1921): 19, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1921–10_3_2/page/n1/mode/2up.

[46] "Your Friends in Rumania," *Junior Red Cross News* 4, no. 2 (October 1922): 24, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–10_4_2/page/24/mode/2up.

and the regulations of this new body. The minister was also directly interested in the publication of the *Red Cross Youth Magazine*, admitting that young people and children in Romania needed quality reading. At the end of the letter, he declared that he himself was always at the disposal of the young people of the Red Cross.[47] Indeed, in May of 1922, the Red Cross Youth was founded, and the *Red Cross Youth Magazine* was published starting in December 1923.[48] This did not only happen in Romania. Such state-owned organizations were also established on the foundation of the American Junior Red Cross in Austria, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, following in the footsteps of those in Czechoslovakia, Italy, France, and Belgium.[49]

One of the most relevant articles regarding the results of this collaboration was dedicated to the Romanian children's perception of America, the source being third-grade students from the Boys' Normal School in Botoșani. They had learned about the United States of America at that time, but they pointed out that they had not gone into detail as they lacked time to study each individual state. From this perspective, they were once again realizing how useful international inter-school correspondence was, through which they had access to new information and maps. The Romanian students declared themselves impressed by the right angles that defined the American states, some almost like geometric figures, such as Colorado, Kansas, and Dakota. Instead, they informed their American colleagues that Romania also had some kind of states called "counties," but which were by no means shaped like right angles. "Some have much larger than others, some wide, others narrow, all crooked somehow." Naturally, the little writers also had an explanation for this difference: while the Americans had a relatively new

[47] "Foreign Work Makes Friends," *Junior Red Cross News* 4, no. 7 (March 1923): 113, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1923–03_4_7/page/112/mode/2up

[48] http://arhivelenationale.ro/site/download/inventare/Societatea-Nationala-de-Cruce-Rosie-din-Romania.-Serviciul-Emigranti.-1939–1941–1941–1977.-Inv.-3376.pdf.

[49] "Juniors Inspire Europe Through Service to Children," *Red Cross Junior News* 4, no. 8 (April 1923): 3, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1923–04_4_8/page/n19/mode/2up.

state, which they could organize administratively as they thought was best, the Romanians had many traditions that needed to be considered. "You could do as you pleased and we simply could not," stated this letter published in the magazine *Junior Red Cross News*. From the Romanian students' point of view, this component of tradition was an essential one: "our ancestors would have risen from their tombs if we had arbitrarily tried to separate them from their brethren." Practically, as the students from Botoșani argued, in Romania, every place is reminiscent of a historical event, "Here, at every step there is something that reminds us of a historical event, at each step there is either a tomb or something that reminds us of the past that claims its rights," which would make an American configuration difficult. At the end of the letter, the Romanian students expressed their belief that a map of Romania would be very useful, both for the details discussed as well as for the discovery of Botoșani.[50] This correspondence between the students from Botoșani and those from America would become more extensive, as can be observed in the pages of the magazine. In September 1924, a new letter was published, originating from the boys from the Normal School and addressed to the students from the Emrich Manual Training High School, from which it appears that the theme of culture and history returned to the discourse of young Romanians, even with some European pride:

> We have benefited by the culture of Rome, Athens, and Constantinople. Each of these big cities has been, at different epochs, the center of culture in Eastern Europe. Therefore, we have many traditions. Our language is a Latin language. We have worn the same national costume for 2,000 years. The way we build our houses is very original and the churches built under the Byzantine and Gothic influence are particularly beautiful. I wonder if you expected to find in Romania such fine architecture, such fine paintings, carvings, etc., as those you will see in the portfolio. You see these things make life worth living.[51]

[50] "What Rumania thinks," *Junior Red Cross News* 5, no. 7 (March 1924): 102, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1924–03_5_7/page/102/mode/2up.

[51] "Just Between Juniors. Letters that Speaks for Themselves," *Junior Red Cross News* 6, no. 1 (September 1924): 14, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1924–09_6_1/page/14/mode/2up.

The November 1925 issue invited young Americans to rely on the mail service to connect with their peers in other countries. Therefore, whoever was curious to know how children went to school in Japan, how children were baptized in Romania, or what the natives of Hawaii ate, they simply had to write a letter, and this School Correspondence service offered them the answer.[52] In the case of Romania, the editors were delighted with the writing style of the Romanian students, which resembled that of their French or Belgian colleagues as the phrases "are full of literary gems." The article claimed that the boys had a delightful style of discussing the differences between the countries and their customs, while the girls′ favorite topic was "their adored Queen and her interesting family." The dose of national pride returned recurrently in the case of the Romanian students, who were thanking God for the beautiful and rich country he had given them. "On the hills there are vineyards and orchards and the rivers have plenty of fish. There are still many wild animals and numbers and numbers of flocks, especially sheep." On the other hand, the boys from the Normal School in Botoșani had fun referring to the name of Indianapolis, which they analyzed from two perspectives they knew because, in Romania, both those from India and the redskins from America were called Indians. Thus, they wondered how that state came to have the same name as the one in Asia, with the capital′s name called Indianapolis, knowing that "polis" came from the Greek, meaning "city." Conversely, the young people from Romania felt close to those from Indianapolis when they looked at the map and saw how similar the two countries were, with vast meadows, wheat, and corn fields. A young Romanian named Nicolae Dumitrescu concluded on a philosophical note: "We all have a tendency toward the unknown. This quest of the unknown has brought about great discoveries and laid the foundation of our civilization."[53]

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[52] Alice Ingersoll Thornton, "Peeps Into Many Lands," *Junior Red Cross News* 6, no. 3 (November 1924): 35, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1924–11_6_3/page/n3/mode/2up.

[53] Ibid, 39.

In October 1925, the discussion about the exchange of experience between the American schools and those of the countries they were helping was resumed, starting from the idea of practical education in fields such as geography, history, or knowledge of traditions. Among other countries from all over the globe, American students were also attracted to Romania. The editors of the *Junior Red Cross News* magazine also published the text that convinced one of the students to go to Romania. At the origin of one of these decisions was a letter sent by one of the students of the "Regina Elisabeta" Normal School in Galați. "Could anything be more fascinating than this description of a peasant home which comes from the Normal School?" the people from the magazine asked themselves. "When you step into the house you can't help admiring the taste and the skill with which they adorn their homes," claimed the young man from Galati. It was also said that these peasant houses usually had two rooms and a small entrance hall, and everything inside was handmade. In every house, as the Romanian student specified, there were wooden benches, which were used as beds at night, wooden trunks painted with flowers, a table, some chairs, sometimes carved, and many small items of daily use. The wooden benches had finely woven sheets covered with beautifully decorated blankets. In the corner of the room, there was a wooden trunk on which lay linen cloths, blankets, sheets, pillows, and the like. On the walls of the rooms, there could be seen carpets woven by women during the long winter evenings. The colors used were those that the Romanian peasants would have loved the most, being related to the sky, nature, the riches of the earth, and the earth itself, in fact, the same colors that would have been found on the traditional costumes. The decor was completed with wooden spoons, pots, pans, woven towels, on the eastern wall, the icon, and below, on a tray, there were flowers or gold threads worn by country girls on their wedding day. In one corner, there was the whitewashed oven, which gave a pleasant appearance to the room. The article was accompanied by an image that depicted such a house from the outside, with the text: "A peasant home in Romania. Even the poorer houses are usually freshly white-washed or kalsomined. The barn is separated from

the dwelling."[54] Also, in the October issue, some of the international contributions of America's youth were reviewed. Thus, we learn that in the poorest neighborhood of Bucharest, a doctor, and a nurse, paid in part from the contribution of students across the Ocean, taught several hundred poor children how to develop and take care of their bodies.[55]

The last issue, which comprised references to Romania, was that of January 1927. The very cover, signed by A.M. Upjohn, revealed that Romania was given special attention, showing the image of Tinca, a little girl from Romania, dressed in traditional clothes. The moment was also a special one, as it followed right after Queen Marie's visit to America in the fall of 1926.

In the section dedicated to letters from abroad, on this occasion, there was one from students of Constanța. In a text entitled "A Boarding School in Romania," student life, which was different from that in America, was described. We learn from the letter that, in Romania, boys and girls did not go to school together after primary school. In most schools, students were boarding. The boys from the Normal School pointed out that all Romanian children were required to go to elementary school at eleven and stay there for four or five years. Those who wanted could then go to high school or a normal school. At the Boys' Normal School, where the letter came from, future teachers were trained, and to this end, the students studied mathematics, drawing, history, French, chemistry, and accounting. They also learned to carve, weave raffia, to make hats, baskets, etc. The senders then detailed a day's schedule and learning conditions:

> We enter the classroom at eight and go out at 11:20 and are free until twelve, when we take our midday meal. At two we go to classes again and stay until five. We go to bed at nine and get up at five in the morning. The free hours are for study and games. Our life in this boarding school is very pleasant. Our building is two stories high. Upstairs are the dormitories, downstairs are the classrooms. We have our own electric batteries. Our headmaster is very

[54] "The National Children's Fund," *Junior Red Cross News* 7, no. 2 (October 1925): 31, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1925–10_7_2/page/n13/mode/2up

[55] "Your Money at Work," *Junior Red Cross News* (See Note 55): 35 https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1925–10_7_2/page/34/mode/2up

> good to us and behaves just like a father. There are two hundred and forty boys in our school. We have formed a society with two sections—one for sports and one to improve our minds. The Sports Club is very active. Our football team is very good. In the winter we sleigh and skate, while in summer we bathe and swim. An English officer who came here on a visit taught us basketball. We make trips in the country and we have been on a steamer in the Black Sea. The Cultural Club has organized already many literary evenings; in fact, we have one of these entertainments on every Saturday night. Besides, they organized a big entertainment where people from the town were invited and it proved very successful. With the money taken in, excursions will be made during the summer to different parts of Rumania.

The text was also accompanied by two images – the first represented two young people, a man and a woman, dressed in traditional costumes, specifying that Romanians love their costumes, so that even those from the city wore them on the occasion of national holidays. The second image was from Constanța, from the peninsular area, where the city had experienced an important development at that time, with the Carol I Mosque, the Mercur Hotel, the current National Bank of Romania, and the building that would become the town hall, the current History, and Archeology Museum. Next to the image the following was written: "Constantza, the chief port of Romania, is a beautiful white city on the shores of the Black Sea."

Another article in this issue was dedicated to Queen Mary's visit to America, on which occasion she was also met by two members of the Junior Red Cross, Virginia Hanna and Dorothy Soule. The girls, who greeted the queen's train at Syracuse, New York, were allegedly among the most charming of all the crowd that had come to the station to meet the sovereign. They had been chosen to appear with a white satin Junior Red Cross pennant and a traditional bouquet of white carnations with a red cross made of rosebuds tied with a red, white, and blue ribbon. The article described the queen as "looking just as a queen should look," with her Prince Nicolae and "beloved princess" Ileana. Noticing the two representatives, the queen turned to the princess, telling her that "The Red Cross is here to meet me," to which Ileana replied that "It is the Juniors." The Queen then leaned over

the rail of the train and smiled at the girls, and two officers lifted them onto the platform where the sovereign stood. After listening to their message and receiving the bouquet of flowers, Queen Mary kissed each of them on the cheek, then presented them with an autographed photo of herself in royal attire, which prompted other members of the reception committee to request it. Yet the answer was relevant to the importance the queen wanted to bestow upon the little ones: "No, just two photos for the two little girls from the Red Cross." A message from the *Juniors of Syracuse*, written by students of Lincoln High School, was also included in the flowers:

> Your Majesty, The Junior Red Cross of Syracuse wishes to extend its greetings and welcome to you. We are very much honored to have you visit our city even for such a short time. We trust that your visit to the United States will be most enjoyable. We should like to extend through you our greetings to the boys and girls of Rumania.

Within the article, there were two photographs, one of the two girls who met Queen Marie and the second one, the photograph representing the sovereign that the two girls have been given with an autograph.[56]

Conclusion

Starting in 1928, the *Junior Red Cross News* no longer published texts dedicated to Romania. It is possible that the main explanation is related to the fact that 1928 is precisely the last year when the *Revista Crucii Roșii a Tinerimii / Red Cross Youth Magazine* was issued in Romania, which entails that the editorial collaboration ended. The texts dedicated to Romania and the Romanian people are relevant from several perspectives. On the one hand, they demonstrate America's involvement in helping orphaned and war-affected children, as American citizens responded to calls for help regarding the centers in Bucharest, Breaza, Techirghiol and Chișinău. Secondly, the frequent references to Romanian costumes and customs point to the discovery

[56] "Junior Doing Here and There," *Junior Red Cross News* 8, no. 5 (January 1927): 100, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1927–01_8_5/page/100/mode/2up.

of a new, colorful, and archaic world compared to other places in Western Europe that the Red Cross nurses had seen. Last but not least, the dialogue between Romanian and American children is the essence of Wilsonian thinking, which aimed to train a new generation of young people who believed in the universal value of citizenship and kindness. On balance, the founding of the Red Cross Youth organization – led by Princess Ileana in Romania – and of the *Red Cross Youth Magazine*, based on the American model, testifies to the major interest that Romania, through the Royal House, has granted to this vision.

Mircea Eliade's Interwar American Project

Liviu Bordaș

Mistakes can be the shortest way to truth, just as truths can be gateways to error. Columbus discovered America starting from a false premise.

M. Eliade[1]

America before America

In the last three decades of his life, the significant academic career achieved by Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) in the United States of America made his previous attitude towards America a subject that deserves to be, and must be, known as soon as possible and more completely. And yet, it has been barely, fragmentarily, and only occasionally treated.

One of the most interesting episodes of this study – hitherto almost completely ignored – occurred in 1929, during Eliade's first year in India. Among his many unfulfilled projects, two target America. On the one hand, he was planning a long return trip to his homeland, which would pass through the United States. On the other hand, he was considering acquiring a teaching position in an American university, preferably at Harvard.

How did Eliade come to see his future in America at the age of twenty-two? One might think we should start from his first encounters with American culture. Mapping them is undoubtedly instructive but of no help in this matter. His extensive reading during high school – between the ages of eleven and eighteen – inevitably led him in this direction as well.

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[1] Mircea Eliade, "Postile. Intelectualism și intelectualiști," *Cuvântul* (Bucharest) V, no. 1414, May 29, 1929, 1–2 (Dated 26 February).

But none of the American writers he knew particularly interested him. It would not be literature that drew him to America but the sciences.

It is equally unhelpful to find when the first direct, personal contacts with Americans occurred. He could have met them even in Bucharest or during his travels abroad: in Italy (April-May 1927, April–May 1928), in Geneva (August–September 1927), on his way to India (November-December 1929), and in India itself (December 1929 – November 1931).

Geneva, 1927

Undoubtedly, the first more consequential meetings occurred in the summer of 1927, during the summer courses organized by the School of International Studies (*Bureau d'Etudes Internationales*) attached to the League of Nations (*Société des Nations*). The fourth annual session of the summer school took place from July 11 to September 4 and was attended by 355 students from thirty-six countries, half of whom were Masters and Ph.D. students. About half of them were American: from Cornell University, Barnard College in New York, the Universities of Chicago and Missouri, etc. etc., Harvard included. And some teachers were Americans.

But neither in his newspaper reports nor in his correspondence did Eliade write anything about his participation in the school. He avoided even naming it; he spoke of "the courses of the University Group attached to the Society of Nations" (i.e. University Federation for the League of Nations), under whose auspices they had been initiated in 1924.[2] We only know he socialized with other international students, mainly at the international student dormitory restaurant and on field trips.[3] In his memoirs, he stated that he had to attend "some courses about the structure and future of the League of Nations," but instead, he was content to devour, in the University's

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[2] Idem, "Reportaje. Geneva. I. Le *Foyer des étudiants*," *Cuvântul* (Bucharest) III, no. 850, August 30, 1927, 1–2.

[3] A mention of an American female student he had met, in Mircea Handoca, ed, *Mircea Eliade şi corespondenţii săi* (hereafter *MECS*), vol. (I-V) III (Bucharest: Minerva, 1993, 1999; F.N.S.A., 2003; Criterion, 2006, 2007) 148 (September 27, 1927).

library, books inaccessible in Bucharest.[4] He thus read some of the thirty-two volumes of Sanskrit or Pali translations published up to that time in "the redolent *Harvard Oriental Series*" (under Charles Rockwell Lanman's editorship),[5] alongside books by Henri Frédéric Amiel, Léon Bloy, Remy de Gourmont, Henri Massis and George Sarton. Except for the latter – a scientist, professor at Harvard – he criticized all of them.

During this period, Eliade wrote to several key scholars from the Anglophone world (Great Britain and the United States of America), such as George Foot Moore, James George Frazer, and John Woodroffe, expressing his desire to translate their works into Romanian. It was also a way of procuring books unavailable in the country. G. Foot Moore – professor of History of Religions at Harvard – obtained acceptance from his publishers for translating the volumes *History of Religions* (1913–1919) and *The Birth and Growth of Religion* (1923), which would be sent to Bucharest.[6]

Most likely, the *Harvard Oriental Series*, Sarton, and Foot Moore are at the root of Eliade's Harvard project. The first volume of Sarton's work, *Introduction to the History of Science* (1927), which he started reading at the University of Geneva Library,[7] was actually the partial source of one of his essential ideas, that of a "new humanism."[8] For the Belgian-American scholar, the history of sciences represented a "new humanism" with strong leanings towards a philosophy of culture.[9] This would comprise a series of methods aimed at researching and valorizing not the man of humanism based on

[4] Eliade, *Autobiography* (hereafter *Autobiography*), vol (I-II) I, trans. Mac Linscott Ricketts (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990, 1988), 130–1.

[5] Mentioned in Idem, "*Studi rumeni*," *Cuvântul* (Bucharest) III, no. 907, October 26, 1927, 1–2.

[6] His letter from August 18, 1927; *MECS* III, 198–9. Also Mircea Handoca, ed, *Europa, Asia, America... Corespondență* (hereafter *Corespondență*), vol. (I-III) I (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1999, 2004) 263 (April 17, 1929).

[7] *Corespondență* I, (December 9, 1927, October 23, 1928), 72, 76.

[8] However, the term is not cited in the first review of Sarton's book, but only the following year, after the writing of the bachelor's thesis on the philosophy of the Renaissance. Eliade, "O carte de istoria ştiinţelor," *Cuvântul* (Bucharest) III, no. 881, September 30, 1927, 4. Also see the letter to Valeriu Bologa, from December 9, 1927; *Corespondenţă* I, 72.

[9] Eliade "Institutul de istorie a medicinei," *Cuvântul* (Bucharest) IV, no. 1267, October 31, 1928, 1–2.

philology, but the human as evident from the evolution of science, in the broad sense of this notion: organized knowledge.[10]

Before leaving for India, Eliade wrote to George Sarton at Harvard again, also referring to the first volume (from Homer to Omar Khayyam) of his monumental history of the sciences. He replied, apologizing for the absence of India from the book, which was due, of course, only to the well-known difficulties of accurately dating Sanskrit works.[11]

India, 1929

On board the Japanese ship "Hakone Maru," on which he traveled from Port Said to Colombo, between December 1 and 12, 1928, Eliade met, in addition to several Japanese students (some returning from the United States), an anthropology professor, whom he left unnamed. Our research to identify him is still ongoing. Among the primary candidates – Ryūzō Torii (1870–1953), Kotondo Hasebe (1882–1969), and Nenozō Utsurikawa (1884–1947) – the latter was a disciple of Roland B. Dixon of Harvard University, appointed in 1928 professor at Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University in Taiwan.

The second opportunity to interact more regularly with Americans was the combined conference of the Christian students' movement in British India and the YMCA, held from December 24 to 31 at Poonamallee, a former military cantonment near Madras. International delegates at the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) annual congress, which took place between December 5–16 in Mysore, were also invited. Eliade was one of them, but he arrived too late to participate.

As with the Romanian Student Christian Association (ASCR), the Student Christian Movement in India was attached to the YMCA from its inception, and the Indian YMCA was practically a branch of the North

[10] Idem, "Sarton și istoria științelor," *Cuvântul* (Bucharest) IV, no. 1276, November 11, 1928, 1–2. He returned in the article "Istoria științelor și noul umanism," *Cuvântul* (Bucharest) IX, no. 2980, August 12, 1933, 1–2, as well as in other articles.

[11] *George Sarton Additional Papers*, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Box 8, bMS Am 1803 (506). His response letter from December 23, 1928, in *MECS* IV, 305–6.

American division. Most "fraternal secretaries" of the Indian subsidiaries were Americans or Canadians. As in the United States, the Indian YMCA, and especially the one in Madras, was a great promoter of sports and physical education, having an important role in shaping modern yoga under the influence of Western physical culture.

The students, around three hundred, came from India, Burma and Ceylon. The pastors were, in the majority, Westerners, but even among them, most came from Australia or from the colonies. Eliade referred – without naming them – to Max Yergan (1892–1975), an African-American Baptist minister YMCA missionary in South Africa, and Arnold Lomas Wylde (1880–1958), an Anglican priest from Great Britain, who emigrated to Australia. Also among them was a Romanian reverend, George D. Iosif (1892–1940), who emigrated as a young man to the United States, then, in 1919, was sent as a missionary to Burma, where he became head of the American Baptist mission in Rangoon.

As soon as he arrived in Calcutta, Eliade had the opportunity to meet other Americans. One of the first is Josephine MacLeod (1858–1949), a long-time disciple of Swami Vivekananda who lived in the Belur Math monastery.[12] It was also there that he met Swami Madhavananda (Nirmal Chandra Basu, 1888–1965), a former missionary in the United States, whom he would later accompany, in January 1930, to the Kumbha Melā in Allahabad. Among those he met at his mentor, Surendranath Dasgupta's house – where he went three times a week – was an unnamed American professor, whose identity remains to be discovered through ongoing research.[13] In the fall of that first year, at Rabindranath Tagore's University in Shantiniketan, he would meet William Dangaix Allen (1904–1985), an American journalist with a significantly extensive career, today sunk in obscurity. Seeking to verify with other Westerners the transforming power of Shantiniketan's "decor," Eliade would

[12] See her letter from January 20, 1929; *MECS* III, 49.

[13] Letter to his mother, from March 4–5, 1929; *Corespondență* I, 257. In 1930, he was present at an American woman's visit. Eliade, "Jurnal," *Vremea* (Bucharest) VI, no. 314, November 19, 1933, 6–7.

turn him into a character of a story in which he explored the encounter of a "white" with the world created by Tagore at Visva-Bharati.[14]

Another lead regarding Eliade's American project that needs to be investigated is Dasgupta's connections with North American academia and possibly even Harvard, where he had been delegated in 1926 to represent India (Bengal) at the sixth session of the International Philosophical Congress. In 1930, he was preparing for an extended trip to Europe and America. He wanted to go to Oxford from July to October and then to Northwestern University in Chicago until the end of March 1931. Because of this, Eliade also planned to leave the professor's house – for Shrinagar and then to Shantiniketan – from May to November. The cancellation of Dasgupta's project also changed Eliade's plans.[15]

Harvard University

As the days passed and he immersed himself in his study of Indian philosophy, Eliade's projections regarding his stay in India changed. After two to four years, he planned to go to Burma, Siam, and Indochina, where he made good friends (on the ship). Even to Australia. He also wanted to return home through Japan and America, countries that seemed "wonderful" to him, and possibly through Mexico. Other plans concerned the post-Indian period. After obtaining his doctorate in Bucharest, Eliade wished to go to Germany. That was only if he could not get to the United States of America, to Harvard University.[16] To Raffaele Pettazzoni he wrote that, after the years spent in India and Germany, he would come to Rome to "learn" History of Religions.[17]

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[14] Eliade, "La Shantiniketan," *Viața literară* (Bucharest) IX, no. 122, December 21, 1929, 3 (Dated October 1929).

[15] See his letters to his family, from [March], April 10, May 1, and May 29, 1930; *Corespondență* I, 303, 304, 305, 307.

[16] *MECS* III, 240–1 (March 9, 1929); *MECS* II, 311–312 (March 30, 1929); *Corespondență* I, 260 (March 20, 1929), 265 (April 17, 1929), 269 (June 6, 1929), 273 (July 24, 1929), 310 (August 2?,1929); *Corespondență* II, 164 (May 21, 1929), 165 (July 17, 1929).

[17] Natale Spineto, ed, *Mircea Eliade, Raffaele Pettazzoni, L'histoire des religions a-t-elle un sens? Correspondance. 1926–1959* (Paris: Cerf, 1994), 103 (February 29, 1929).

Germany, a constant on his map of future studies, was the country where all his favorite professors at the University of Bucharest (Nae Ionescu, Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, Dimitrie Gusti) had studied and, therefore, it became a necessity and a promise for their disciple. But what exactly drew Eliade to Harvard? He maintained very good relations with George Sarton (1884–1956), who had been teaching History of Science since 1920. A Romanian language course had recently been established, taught by an emigrant from Romania. But Harvard was one of the most important centers for both Indian philology and religious studies.[18] If Eliade had no connection with the Sanskrit professor, Walter Eugene Clark (1881–1960) – future editor of the *Harvard Oriental Series* –, he had corresponded with the professor of History of Religions, George Foot Moore (1851–1931),[19] whom he regarded as "one of the glories of Harvard University, and the one who made the Faculty of Theology an institute of original research, instead of the usual popular American theological schools."[20] Foot Moore retired in 1928, and the chair had been advertised. This was what Eliade aimed for.[21] However, it would be occupied in 1930 by the young classicist Arthur Darby Nock (1902–1963).

Mindful of his scientific future, Eliade believed that it would be a "crime" not to have the scholarship he had received from Bucharest extended after he "sacrificed himself" to start "new and revealing studies for Romanian culture." He feared Nicolae Iorga, newly appointed rector of the University of Bucharest, would cause him difficulties. If, however, the Romanians were so senseless, if stupidity and politics suppressed his scholarship, he would apply for American citizenship and, in two years, he would leave to be a professor at Harvard.[22] "All the scholars I talk to marvel at the breadth of

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[18] William James (1842–1910) taught at Harvard until 1907, however, it is unlikely that Eliade was influenced by reading his work.

[19] See his letter from August 18, 1927, from which it can be deduced he had sent at least one more letter; *MECS* III, 198–99.

[20] Eliade, "Doi profesori morți. N. Söderblom și G. F. Moore," *Cuvântul* (Bucharest) VIII, no. 2627, August 15, 1932, 3.

[21] *Corespondență* I, 292–23 (December 15, 1929).

[22] Letter to his mother, on June 12, 1929; *Corespondență* I, 270.

my knowledge and predict a formidable future for me." "Besides, in Romania, no one can appreciate the discoveries I'm working on."[23] We do not know what his certainty that he would be accepted at Harvard was based on, but it must be related to the belief that it is comparatively easy to become a professor in American universities.[24] However, if not the most prestigious, Harvard was high among the most prestigious American universities. But soon after, Eliade expressed the intention to become professor in a European university.[25]

Concerned that his work should bear concrete and immediate fruit, he proposed to write studies in English and French, which he would publish starting that winter in European and American journals.[26] His future university situation in the country depended on them.[27] While in India, Eliade continued testing the ground for American academic journals,[28] but did not find an outlet.

When financial and family difficulties loomed on the horizon with the possibility of shortening his stay in India, Eliade wrote to his parents that, despite the intellectual efforts of which he was capable, two years would not be enough for all the projects he had planned. He thus renounced the project on Asian religions that would have brought him an American chair. The time was insufficient to complete the "*special* research," i.e., "Tibetan, Pali language and Mahayanic Buddhist literature, Asian mysticism, and

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[23] Letter to his father, on July 24, 1929; *Corespondență* I, 273.

[24] Letter to his mother, on August 5, 1929; *Corespondență* I, 275.

[25] Ibid. An anecdotal fact from this period that deserves to be mentioned: on August 10, 1929, at a "Venetian celebration" in Movilă-Techirgiol resort (currently Eforie Sud), Eliade's parents attracted attention from high society by dancing "wonderful productions, including a successful dance of the Apache." Ionel Tudosie, "Carmen Sylva," *Rampa* (Bucharest) XIV, no. 3469, August 15, 1929, 3.

[26] Letters to the family on August 5 and 2?, 1929; *Corespondență* I, 275, 309–10. On September 4, 1929, he wrote to Constantin Rădulescu-Motru that he would finish the first study by winter; *Corespondență* III, 7–8. On December 21, 1929, he stated he would publish an English article in February 1930; *Corespondență* I, 297.

[27] Letter to his father, from September 4, 1929; *Corespondență* I, 278.

[28] See for example the letter from March 15, 1931, to Vittorio Macchioro, who was at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln (in the USA between 1929 and 1933). *Corespondență* II, 170–4 (173). And his reply, from April 19-May 3, 1931; *MECS* III, 103–6 (106).

Tantric works," required for the Harvard chair to which he intended to apply. However, he hoped to continue his research in Germany – where other perspectives could open up for him – and in Paris.[29] And to return to India later when the family situation and his financial condition would improve.[30] Although his family soon withdrew any conditions for his stay in India, Eliade no longer mentioned anything about the Harvard project in his correspondence – as far as it is known.

His father discussed this project with Professor Constantin Rădulescu-Motru (1868–1957), who said that it would be good to go for a year as a professor in America.[31] Eliade himself had communicated this project to several friends and colleagues of his generation, some of whom were quick to disseminate it. In the Cluj newspaper *Patria* (*The Fatherland*) a news piece was published that Eliade, at only twenty-two, was invited as a professor at an American university.[32] Reading it, professor Valeriu Bologa (1892–1971) wrote to him that it was something "extraordinary" but also a danger that Romania would "lose him for good."[33] The "news" leaked from one of the letters sent to friends in the country and must have been thought up by Eliade precisely to "threaten" the Romanians if he did not receive the support he needed to continue his studies in India. He replied to Bologa that – obviously – he did not know anything for sure about America, but – even more obviously – he was determined to "sacrifice everything" for his research.[34]

Although we learn nothing more about the project to occupy a chair at Harvard, the prestigious academic institution remained in other ways on

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[29] Letter to his father, on December 15, 1929; *Corespondență* I, 292–3.

[30] Letter to his mother, on December 21, 1929; *Corespondență* I, 295.

[31] Letters from Gh. Eliade, from July 11 and November 13, 1929; *MECS* V, 365; "Scrisori inedite adresate lui Mircea Eliade de la familie," in M. Handoca, *Fost-a Eliade necredincios?* (Iași: Tipo Moldova, 2011), 366–78 (372). He talked about his son's American project to other people as well. See for example George Angelescu's letter from June 22, 1929; *MECS* I, 44–46 (45).

[32] V.I., "Răboj," *Patria* (Cluj) XI, no. 261, November 27, 1929, 2. The author is, very likely, Victor Iancu (1908–1981), Eliade's younger colleague at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Bucharest.

[33] *MECS* I, 105–6 (January 20, 1930).

[34] Letter from February 16, 1930; *Corespondență* I, 77–80 (79).

the horizon of Eliade's scholarly career. At the beginning of 1931, the Bucharest newspaper *Cuvântul* (*The Word*) announced that he was working on a voluminous *Lexicon of Indian Philosophy* to be published in English by Harvard University.[35] The information originated, of course, from his letters, but it remains for future archival research to determine to what extent it was based on a genuine offer or opportunity and not on young Eliade's wishful thinking.

Several months after his return from India, on March 19, 1932, he gave an invited lecture entitled "Asia versus America," in which he criticized America in the name of Eastern spirituality.[36] And yet, in a very short time, he published the article "If I were in America," in which he referred to the "exodus of scholars to this blessed country" and concluded with the thought, "I would like to live in America [...]."[37] In the summer of 1933, he was asked by a reporter: "Between India and Europe, which do you prefer?." Eliade answered: "America!" seeing it as a "world where you can work and be encouraged in your work."[38] A few months later, he became an honorary assistant to Nae Ionescu (1890–1940) at the University of Bucharest, and references to a desired departure to the United States disappeared for a while.

It seems that in India, Eliade had externalized his hopes for the American project to such an extent that he would be embarrassed to admit to some of his acquaintances there that it failed. In 1934, he wrote to an Indian scholar that he had returned from the United States and was now teaching at the University of Bucharest.[39]

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35 "*Lumina ce se stinge*. Câteva cuvinte despre Mircea Eliade și noul lui roman care va apare în *Cuvântul*," *Cuvântul* (Bucharest) VII, no. 2051, January 6, 1931, 2.

36 *Autobiography* I, 236. In the symposium *Valorificarea spiritului american (Harnessing the American Spirit)*, organized by the "Romanian Annals" Circle, at the "Carol I" University Foundation.

37 Eliade, "Dacă aș fi în America," *Cuvântul* (București) VIII, no. 2523, April 30, 1932, 1.

38 Al. Robot, "Cu Mircea Eliade despre el și despre alții," *Rampa* (Bucharest) XVI, no. 4615, June 5, 1933, 1, 3.

39 See Narendra Nath Law's response from April 26,1934 (to a letter from March 29); *MECS* III, 44.

Coda

This article does not aim to map all the threads – thinner or thicker – connected to Harvard in Eliade's biography and bibliography, both of which are rich in many other threads leading to multiple directions. Much less to give an account of all his intentions regarding America. Further research will bring to light different aspects of this symbolic link that runs through his academic career.

In the post-Indian years, he reviewed books published in various scientific series sponsored by Harvard and maintained relations with several scholars related, in one way or another, to it. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (1877–1947), who worked from 1917 at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, a stone's throw from Harvard, was among those connected to the venerable University through multiple relationships. Eliade had discovered him in Geneva, reading him since 1928, and initiated a correspondence in 1936 by sending him his book on yoga. The Anglo-Sinhalese scholar contributed to the first issue of *Zalmoxis* (1938) along with his friend Benjamin Rowland (1904–1972) from the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University.

In the same year, after his political arrest, Eliade lost his university position, together with Nae Ionescu. At the beginning of the war, in the fall of 1939, he returned to the old idea of finding a position as History of Religions professor in the United States.[40] He sounded out Coomaraswamy on this possibility, but although Coomaraswamy urged him to come, he informed him that, due to the large number of refugee scholars from Nazi Germany, there were almost no professorships left in American universities.[41] Therefore, he accepted the diplomatic service as an alternative solution, and in April 1940, he was sent to London. However, he did not give up on the American dream and, in a short time, telegraphed Minister

[40] *Autobiography* II, 3, 4.

[41] The letters have not survived, but Eliade refers to Coomaraswamy's reply in his memoirs; *Autobiography* II, 5, 13, 78–79.

Nichifor Crainic with the request to be sent to the United States.[42] With no result.

After Romania entered the war, while he was in Lisbon, he could no longer conceive of his future except with his country. The thought of a possible disaster made him write the following lines: "In America, after three or four years, I'd acquire fame, a public, and a considerable amount of money if I were hard-hearted enough to renounce Romanianism for another culture. But I can't do that. Without my nation, nothing in history matters to me any more."[43] After Romania's invasion by the Soviet army, returning to the country – a country that was becoming different day by day, even contrary to the one he had loved – ceased to be an option. His future was moving now to France or America.[44]

He arrived in Paris in the fall of 1945, but continued to look across the Atlantic.[45] In September 1946, when he learned that Ananda K. Coomaraswamy was still alive, he put his hope in his help to get a job at an American university.[46] On receiving Eliade's letter, Coomaraswamy extended an invitation to visit him the following year in Boston. Eliade asked him to find him some work in the United States. After an SOS in July 1947, Coomaraswamy wrote back that he had found him a position as a French teacher at a multicultural college – Verde Valley School in Sedona (Arizona) – which was to open in the autumn of the following year. Eliade accepted it on the spot and wrote to its founder,[47] Professor Hamilton Warren (1904–1972), a Harvard graduate who enjoyed the support of several scholars, including his former

[42] *Corespondență* I, 325 (August 2, 1940); *Corespondență* III, 95, 96 (August 2, 17, 1940). He considered it "the best solution" for him.

[43] Idem, *The Portugal Journal*, trans. Mac Linscott Ricketts (Albany: SUNY Press, 2010), 92 (August 10, 1943).

[44] Ibid, 170 (January 27, 1945). His wife's death, however, made him doubt the meaning of knowing these new lands without her; Ibid, 148 (December 31, 1944).

[45] See especially *Autobiography* II, 112; *Corespondență* I, 338 (June 19, 1946), 199 (November 21, 1946); *Journal*, *Mircea Eliade Papers*, University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center (hereafter *MEP*) 15.1, f. 97 (July 18, 1946).

[46] *Journal*, *MEP* 15.1, f. 149 (September 4, 1946).

[47] See Eliade's letter to Coomaraswamy from August 26, 1947; *Corespondență* III, 449–50.

anthropology professor, Clyde Kluckhohn (1905–1960).[48] But Coomaraswamy's sudden death on September 9 curtailed this path to America.[49]

In 1948, Eliade was still preoccupied with finding a position at Columbia University or Harvard University.[50] Various tracks and possibilities were pursued or awaited in the following years, which proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that he was entirely determined to pursue an academic career in America.[51] The US had come to represent the possibility of making a living working in his favorite field of research: History of Religions. However, he hesitated to accept an offer as *fellow* at a provincial university like that of Ohio.[52] After receiving the scholarship from the Bollingen Foundation – for the years 1951–1953, and then extended – he would become even more demanding about how he would get to America.

Of all those who tried to help him, the one who succeeded would be Joachim Wach (1898–1955), for the academic year 1956–1957. Although once again death overtook Wach shortly after making the proposition to Eliade, the project would succeed this time.[53] Eliade enthusiastically wrote to Emil Cioran from America: "I discovered with pleasure that the University of Chicago is considered the second most important in all of America; meaning

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48 "Hamilton Warren, founder of Prep School in Arizona," *New York Times* (New York), 27 March 1972, 38.

49 *Jurnal* (hereafter *Jurnal*), ed. Mircea Handoca, vols. I-II (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1993), I, 88–89, 115, 116 (October 12, 1946, July 25, August 9, 11, 1947); *Journal*, *MEP* 15.3, ff. 369, 383, 388, 398, 412, 413 (August 17, 29, September 1, 12, October 13, 14, 1947); *Autobiography* II, 118. There is no letter from H. Warren in *MEP*.

50 *Corespondență* III, 466 (February 10, 1948).

51 *Autobiography* II, 147; *Journal*, *MEP* 15.3, ff. 446, 464, 501, 515 (February 3, March 31, August 20, September 26, 1948), 15.4, ff. 633–634, 677, 713 (July 27, December 23, 1950, June 29, 1951); *Jurnal* I, 172 (August 22, 1950); *Corespondență* I, 345 (September 9, 1948), 436 (August 15, 1950); *Corespondență* III, 468 (April 28, 1948), 498–9 (August 7, 1950), 500 (September 12, 1950), 503–4 (September 30, 1950), 506–8 (October 18, 1951), 511 (February 19, 1952); *MECS* V, 324–5, 328 (February 10, 1950). Also, several unpublished letters from the *MEP* and other archives, which we no longer cite.

52 *Corespondență* III, 484 (17 December 1949).

53 The invitation was communicated on April 25, 1955; *Jurnal* I, 268–9; *Autobiography* II, 147, 173–4, 176. Also see *Corespondență* III, 105–6 (November 22, 1955); *MECS* IV, 494 (December 12, 1955).

it comes right after Harvard. It 'beat' Yale, Princeton, and – long ago – Columbia."[54]

In 1960, he was invited to a symposium at Harvard, for which he strove to write an important study. But when, in January 1963, a week after the death of Arthur Darby Nock, professor Robert H.L. Slater (1896–1984) offered him to take over the vacant chair and direction of the Center for the Study of World Religions, Eliade declined, citing the freedom he enjoyed in Chicago.[55] In May, he was invited to be part of the committee that elected the successor, but the occasion became an instance of discreet pressure to accept the position himself. Eliade apologized again, adding other arguments: that he was not good at academic administration and did not want to disappoint Jerald C. Brauer (1921–1999), the dean of the Divinity School in Chicago, who had done so much for him.[56] It was not, of course, the only proposal that was made to him. It was preceded and followed respectively by others from universities such as Columbia and Fordham, which Eliade similarly declined.[57]

This long history of near misses with Harvard is not without a touch of irony behind the Iron Curtain. In Romania, where Eliade was a banned author until the fall of 1967, he was believed to be a professor at the prestigious University. The fact was recorded in the article dedicated to him by the *Mic dicționar enciclopedic (Concise Encyclopedic Dictionary)*.[58] In the files of the Securitate, he appeared a few years later as a "former professor at Harvard

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[54] Letter from January 17, 1957, *Fonds Emil Cioran*, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris, CRN C 122, Ms. Ms. 48410.

[55] *Journal*, *MEP* 16.3, ff. 2138–2139 (January 18, 1963). Eliade wrote that Nock had died the preceding day.

[56] *Jurnal* I, 453–4 (May 1, 2, 1963). Brauer confirmed the episode on several occasions. See especially, Jerald C. Brauer, "Mircea Eliade and the Divinity School," *Criterion* (Chicago) 24, no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 25–26.

[57] *Corespondență* I, 479 (March 20, 1958); *Journal*, *MEP* 16.8, ff. 2943, 2966 (December 28, 1965, January 20, 1966).

[58] Aurora Chioreanu, Gheorghe Rădulescu, eds, *Mic dicționar enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1972), 1216. The mistake was corrected in the following editions of 1978 and 1986 (probably owing to Constantin Noica, who pointed it out immediately).

University."[59] The association persisted until late, occurring even among some of his generational colleagues who managed to escape from Communist Romania.[60]

Desired when unattainable, refused when offered, Harvard was erroneously assigned to him as his destiny. The origin and dissemination of this error remain mired in mysterious processes that perhaps cognitive sociology will one day reveal to us. For now, *corrigendum*.

[59] Note from June 1976, signed by Major Ștefan Ionescu, in Dora Mezdrea, ed, *Nae Ionescu și discipolii săi în arhiva Securității*, vol. 2. *Mircea Eliade* (Bucharest: Mica Valahie, 2008), 139–140 (139).

[60] Angelo Morretta, "Mircea Eliade and the new synthesis of the sacred," in *Homo religiosus. To honour Mircea Eliade. Selected Papers from the 12th Congress of the American-Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Universitè de Paris – Sorbonne, June 24–27, 1987*, edited by L.M. Arcade, Ion Manea, Elena Stamatescu (Davis: The Mircea Eliade Research Institute, 1990), 114–118 (117). The author is writer and journalist Dan Petrașincu (1910–1997).

The Rockefeller Foundation and the Gilău Model Sanitary District. Romanian-American Relations under the Auspices of Health

Truța Ferencz Iozsef

The Billionaire who Seduced the Romanian Press. From Business to Philanthropy

The first decades of the 20th century saw the publication of articles in Romanian newspapers about a certain "king of oil," John D. Rockefeller of the United States, whose wealth far outweighed that of Tsar Nikolai Alexandrovich Romanov, the head of the richest, largest, and most populous nation, as follows: if the Tsar earned 324 kroner per minute, 19,440 per hour, 466,560 per day and 170,294,400 per year, the oil king collected 400 kroner per minute, 24,000 per hour, 576,000 per day and 210,240,000 per year. John D. Rockefeller had far more income than the Sultan of Turkey (40,000,000 kroner), the Emperor of Germany (14,256,000 kroner), the King of Italy (11,143,000 kroner), the King of England (9,040,000 kroner), the King of Spain (5,720,090 kroner), but even richer than other business kings like Andrew Carnegie[1] (100,000,000 kroner), Russell Sage[2] (36,900,000 kroner), W.A. Clarr[3]

[1] Scottish-born American businessman and philanthropist who gained his fortune through steel mills, especially railroad tracks production. See Andrew Carnegie, *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Public Affairs, U.S., 2011).

[2] Financier, politician, railway director. He is famous for his financial schemes. See Paul Sarnoff, *Russell Sage, the Money King* (New York: Ivan Obolensky, Inc, 1965).

[3] Also called "the brass king."

(32, 000. 000 kroner), Jay Gould[4] (24, 000.000 kroner), Pierpont Morgan[5] (20,000.000 kroner).[6] That being said, it is evident that the oil king was and continues to be the wealthiest man in history.

John Davison Rockefeller was born on July 8, 1839, the son of a German-born "rural doctor"[7] who was also employed in agriculture. According to his contemporary newspapers, he was raised on rigorous morals and taught money management.[8] Although his father was a merchant, the family's financial situation was not great. They lived in a modest two-room home surrounded by trees and a garden where his mother, a vibrant and devout woman, raised vegetables. Regarding his academic background, it appears that Rockefeller and his younger brother, William Rockefeller, only attended the Cleveland Commercial School. He spent just enough time there to pick up the essentials of accounting.[9]

He was sixteen when he graduated from school in September 1855, and after making an intensive effort to obtain a job, he was paid four dollars a week as an apprentice at the commission house *Heuitt & Tuttle*. His superiors were soon impressed by his diligence and knowledge, and after fifteen months, he was given the job of accounting assistant when it became available. He

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4 American railroad magnate and highly skilled financial speculator, he is also known as one of the "Golden Age" thief barons. See Maury Klein, *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

5 American banker and investor. He financed famous inventor Nikola Tesla's Wardenclyffe Tower (unfinished project). See Jr MacGregor, *J.P. Morgan – The Life and Deals of America's Banker* (Sheridan: CAC Publishing LLC, 2019).

6 "Felurimi," 7.

7 It appears that John D. Rockefeller's father was a charlatan who toured North American cities with a traveling band selling bottles of an oily liquid with miraculous properties. Furthermore, the father encouraged his oldest son's commercial inclinations. See Dr. N. N. Petra, "Problemele actuale ale Petrolului," *Revista Economică* XLI, no. 13 (March 25, 1939): 109; "John D. Rockefeller după R. Lewinsohn de Drempet-Cluj," *Revista Economică* XXXI, no. 43 (October 26, 1929): 372.

8 The Romanian press also presents money-saving principles, an eloquent example is the ten fingers principle.
Ștefan Cioroianu, "Cele zece degete," *Foaia Diecezană. Organul oficial al eparhiei ortodoxe române a Caransebeșului* LV, no. 20 (May 19, 1940): 1–2.

9 Mercator, "Din vieaţa lui Rockefeller," *Revista Economică* XLVI, no. 22–23 (June 10, 1944): 149–50.

was now eighteen years old and earning forty dollars a month. However, the young Rockefeller was not satisfied, he asked his employers to increase his remuneration, and when they did not want to, he left. With some savings, he returned to his father and asked for a loan to become a "patron" himself. Since his father had no money, he made a loan of one thousand dollars with ten percent interest, which John was to bear. But with the 1,500 dollars he had, he still could not start anything and needed another source of money. Thus, he associated with a clerk, Morris B. Clark (his first associate). The nineteen-year-old Rockefeller and the thirty-year-old associate laid the foundations of the company *Clark & Rockefeller, Commission-Expedition*. The older Clark traveled in search of clients while the young John spent more time in the office carrying the books. Very persistent, their turnover reaches 100,000 dollars in a relatively short time. In the following years, they scaled their business by entering various commercial relationships, giving the company new development means.[10]

Since around 1860, a genuine oil rush began, like the 1850 gold rush,[11] John D. Rockefeller, alongside his associates, got involved in this business,[12] even though he was reticent about what this new economy branch entailed.[13] In this new venture, he associated himself,

> […] with two more brothers of Clark's and a technician, Andrews — who was famous for a small invention in oil distillation and thus founded a second firm, in addition to the first one, under the name of Andrews, Clark & Co."[14]

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[10] "John D. Rockefeller după R. Lewinsohn de Drempet-Cluj," 372.

[11] See Alfred Neagu, *Goana după aur (în relatarea martorilor oculari)* (Bucharest: Albatros, 1977).

[12] "It would be false to believe – and it is often read in his biography – that he would have discovered the economic importance of oil and thus would have made a fortune. It is false, the Oil Company was already founded in 1857, and that its director, Colonel Drake, managed to bring some technical perfection to drilling and succeeded for the first time, in Pennsylvania, to extract over a ton of oil a day." See "John D. Rockefeller după R. Lewinsohn de Drempet-Cluj," 372.

[13] "Hundreds and thousands of exploiters roamed the supposed oil regions and dug wells without any prior study. Rockefeller, seeing how many wasted their fatigue and money in vain, refrained from the idea of extracting oil. This project's valuation tempted him. He bought the oil from the exploiters, distilled it and sold it to consumers." Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

The business went very well, but after a while, Rockefeller was no longer satisfied with sharing his earnings with his associates, the Clark brothers:

> That is why, after much insistence, he enables his associates to simply put their company up for auction among themselves, and the one who gives the most for it will take it over. That is how it happened. After a complete auction, achieved by a lawyer, Rockefeller takes over the enterprise for the sum of 72,500 dollars, of which he pays 4/5 to his associates and remains the sole owner.[15]

It should be noted that he did not renounce the collaboration with the technician Andrews, whom he still needed.[16]

After these changes, business went unexpectedly well, so that Rockefeller, only twenty-six years old, abandoned the company's commission activity to the detriment of the oil business. Being a keen observer, he saw the importance of cheaper and faster oil transportation compared to the classical method of transportation in barrels. The solution was found in installing pipes, but they were beyond the company's financial capabilities. Due to the lack of capital, Rockefeller again chose associates, changing the company name to *Rockefeller, Andrews & Flagler*. But with the company's expansion, new problems appeared, this time of a legal nature. The US, being a confederation that allowed independent legislation for each state, laying pipes in certain states (such as Ohio) became very expensive and bureaucratically cumbersome. Rockefeller also managed to solve this situation through "underhanded" deals, we would say today: bribes.[17]

In 1870, the firm was scaled again and became the famous *Standard Oil Company of Ohio*. The installed pipelines apparently did not ensure oil transportation over long distances. To fix this problem, Rockefeller bought shares in several railway companies and even created his own fleet. After

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[15] Ibid.

[16] The company's name changes again in 1865 and becomes *Rockefeller & Andrews*.

[17] Ibid.

these investments, with control over transportation, the Rockefellers were able to sell their oil at great distances and for much less than the competition,

> So, in 1872, five essential distilleries were forced to conclude an agreement, a cartel, with Standard Oil and merge into the Central Association of Refiners […], which were under Rockefeller's orders and dependencies. At the same time, Rockefeller's company capital rose to three and a half million dollars, and the turnover of the company rose to 25 million dollars […].[18]

A little over thirty years old, Rockefeller was already an extremely rich man and was getting richer and richer, becoming the wealthiest man on the planet. According to the interwar press, Rockefeller,

> [...] in his business, he mercilessly exploited the weaknesses of others. If a competitor succumbed, Rockefeller knew no forgiveness. If the state sought to prevent the establishment of an oil monopoly through legislation, he would sue them, Rockefeller did not hesitate to use all the subterfuges to evade it without considering whether, by doing so, he again came into conflict with the laws or not.[19]

Regarding interhuman relations, "in his factories..., the oil king knew how to be generous towards his superior officials, who knew how to help him in his work." Nevertheless, "unlike Ford, Rockefeller looked upon the small employee or laborer only as tools to whom he was to pay no more than was strictly necessary."[20]

Due to his character and behavior, contemporaries did not hesitate to characterize him particularly nuancedly. For instance:

> Theodore Roosevelt called him a rights violator, and others called him the greatest criminal of the century. Tolstoy regarded him as the embodiment of the evil spirit, with whom an honest man could not converse [...].[21]

If we analyze these characterizations, we realize that an essayist and dramatist like Leo Tolstoy, who offered literal interpretations of the ethical

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[18] Ibid.
[19] Mercator, "Din vieaţa lui Rockefeller," 150.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

teachings of Jesus Christ in his works, could not be in favor of a character for whom "business and religion live side by side in two compartments strictly isolated"[22] of the heart.

We can also mention those from the competition from the register of characterizations. Around the year 1880,

> […] Rockefeller's competitors made one last attempt to oppose him, building their own oil pipelines. At the same time, they started a smear campaign against him, calling him a vampire trying to establish a monopoly that is prohibited by law.[23]

These appreciations by his contemporaries contrasted with his lifestyle. It seems that "his lifestyle and clothing were very simple. His only passion was playing golf. He did not drink, did not smoke and did not attend any celebrations." It is also curious that this parsimonious man, in the latter part of his life, occupied himself primarily only with philanthropic works. He never spent without a plan, the largest tip he gave was ten cents, but his foundations reached almost a billion dollars. His most essential foundations were: The Institute for Medical Research, The Institute for General Education, The Rockefeller Foundation for Philanthropic Issues, and the Institute for the Protection of Children, which he founded in memory of his wife, then deceased for twenty-two years.[24] The newspapers of the time appreciated that these foundations "are administered with the greatest scrupulousness and without any political coloration."[25]

The Billionaire's Philanthropy in Romania

His philanthropic work also reached Romania, with Romanians benefiting from Rockefeller's money through scholarships, investments, or donations

[22] "As a Puritan Baptist he considered the acquisition of wealth as a duty, independent of human considerations." See Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

for developing health projects. In the case of the present work, we will focus on the latter, but not before also presenting certain reluctance of some Romanians towards the philanthropist's benefactions.

According to the writings of Dr. Grigore T. Popa,

> […] in 1922–1923, some curious travelers appeared in Romania; they were nice people who were modestly dressed (but correctly) and spoke broken French. One of them was called Eversole, and he was an American; the other, I don't know what he called him. They inquired about the universities they visited and said they wanted to send young Romanians abroad to study. They had come to the country called by Professor Cantacuzino and said they represented a foundation called Rockefeller. Our world from 1922 did not quite understand what it was about for a while. Just think that they had fallen in a time of the much-trumpeted "renaissance" of the youth, in the boiling of the famous generation of 22, for whom only violence mattered, and education had taken a back seat. Who would think about studies abroad and still about studies paid for by others and, above all, those others being Americans. At that time, Americans had begun to identify with the Jews, and this whole thing with scholarships for studies seemed suspicious. Some even, believing that from now on, Greater Romania would be one of the pivots of the universe, became suspicious and secretly claimed that the bait with the stock exchanges was a hidden plan: that the Americans wanted to get their hands on our oil, and Mr. Rockefeller, because he also had the name "David," he must have been Jewish."

Under these auspices, the Rockefeller foundation also came to Romania, as it had previously done for more than twenty other countries:

> Some of us were fortunate enough to be recommended (and then admitted) to be sent by this foundation to study: some in America, others in England, or in France, Switzerland, and other European countries. When I then saw this Foundation's working method, its purpose, and results, the idea of Romanian oil seemed not only ridiculous but also grotesque.[26]

As readers can infer from the account of Doctor Grigore T. Popa (a Rockefeller fellow), Romanian society was extremely reticent regarding the Rockefeller Foundation's goals. The reluctance can be attributed to the

[26] Gr. T. Popa, "Fundația Rockefeller în slujba omenirii," *Universul Literar* LIV, no. 9 (March 18, 1945): 6.

Romanians' eternal phobia towards foreigners and the anti-Semitism foaming in Romanian universities. It should not be forgotten that the year 1922 meant the beginning of the expansion of anti-Semitism in the university environment, the year in which the Association of Christian Students was founded on May 22, 1922, the year in which Corneliu Zelea Codreanu became president of this society, and last but not least, the year in which A.C. Cuza, the ideologue and "father" of Romanian anti-Semitism, professor at the Faculty of Law in Iasi, and his colleague N.C. Paulescu founded the National Christian Union, whose essential objective was to solve the Jewish problem by eliminating Jews from Romanian society.[27] However, aspirants found themselves in conditions where some realized that "a Rockefeller Fellow was already a personality of the future."[28]

In the second half of the 1930s, following the visits of Rockefeller Foundation representatives, the Romanian press predicted significant investments by this foundation in "matters of public hygiene."[29] The foundation, established in 1913, was also materially approaching Romanian territories following the decentralization of the Paris office, leading to actions to improve the sanitary situation in Europe and establishing new headquarters in Budapest under doctor Mitchel Lelland.[30] This institution, "in our immediate

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27 Lucian Nastasă, ed, *Antisemitismul universitar în România (1919–1939). Mărturii Documentare* (Cluj-Napoca: Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2011), 9.

28 "The recipients of the Rockefeller Foundation scholarships were exposed to significant happenings in their field of study: they were sent to international congresses, attended the openings of new establishments, participated in memorial services for former establishments, and were part of research and work teams. They engaged in scientific society activities on the ground, putting them in direct contact with many of those people who would later become their leadership generation. In addition, students were taken to some of the most prestigious hospitals, laboratories, and institutes, where the state of science today is being built piece by piece. Over the years, the Rokefeller Foundation has transformed these journeys into an institution and has transported virtuous individuals around the world, enriching their understanding and perspective of our planet."Our translation. See Popa, "Fundația Rockefeller în slujba omenirii."

29 "Fundația Rockefeller şi România," *România Nouă* III, no. 116(399) (October 17, 1926): 3.

30 Aurel Voina, "Fundația Rockefeller," Societatea de Mâine. *Revistă Săptămânală pentru Probleme Sociale și Economice Cuprinzând Buletinul Secției Social-Economice a "ASTRA"* III, no. 43 (October 25, 1925): 760.

appropriation of a Rockefferian representation," was seen by doctor Aurel Voina as "an assurance that the promised competition has more prospects of becoming a fulfilled fact."[31]

Indeed, several years later, the promises became reality, with the Rockefeller Foundation investing substantial sums of money in medical institutes, training medical staff, and other efforts to improve the population's health status.

Founding the Gilău Model Sanitary District

One strategy was creating a hygienic network known as the Gilău Model Sanitary District. Based on the 1930 sanitary and protection regulations, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Romanian government built this network on January 1, 1931. The aforementioned law stipulated that this new sanitary unit had to include multiple constituencies, each with a maximum of 100,000 residents, contingent upon the territory's communication capabilities, topographical features, and population density. Its boundaries were to be drawn "within the limits of the plots, always respecting the county's borders."[32]

In terms of utility, establishing health districts were required to address the situations in which there were insufficient primary physicians in the county and too few circumscription doctors in the circumscription area to carry out preventive work. To all of this was added the precarious situation of public health, particularly in rural areas. Thus, a district headed by a hygienist was to be added between the county and the constituency. [33]

In addition to these utilities, Cluj doctors, on the occasion of the activity report, specified the fact that,

The Gilău Model Sanitary District aims to serve as a field of experience and scientific research to apply the 1930 sanitary and protection law, and on the other hand, to serve as a field of practical application for hygienists

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid, 6–7.

who are pursuing their specialization studies at the Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in Cluj, for the students of the Institute of Nursing Sisters in Cluj and University of Cluj Faculty of Medicine graduates. In addition to these, the Model Health District also aims to study and experiment with new methods for improving rural health conditions, to systematize activity of circumscription doctors, as well as auxiliary health personnel (protection nurses, health workers, midwives) to obtain the most satisfactory result, to develop simple but systematized models of records and sanitary reports, to unleash the sanitary technique in the rural environment, and to find the most suitable methods for the rural population's hygienic education.[34]

The Gilău Model Sanitary District was intended as an experimental model for implementing legislation, a practice ground similar to those established in the United States of America after 1908.[35]

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[34] Ibid. 7.

[35] "It appears that the sanitary district model was taken over from the US model, which evolved as follows: "Until 1908, the rural population did not enjoy an effective sanitary organization in the United States, although attempts were made formerly. From that year, following the implementation by the Washington Health Service of a program to fight fever, typhoid and because of the studies done on the problem of ancylostomiasis by the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, rural health units began to be organized. At the beginning, these health units had a hygienist, a secretary, a nurse, and a technical leader. Over time, the net broadened its activity, in increasingly sanitary fields and especially attacking problems that required knowledge from several specialties, it was forced to multiply both its departments and its staff. They thus became responsible for the entire public health and the protection of the population in the communities found under their jurisdiction. They even gained autonomy in sanitary technology. Administratively, and quite frequently even budgetarily, they stayed connected with the State Commissioner for Health and felt flattered when the Federal Sanitary Service or the Rockefeller Foundation took an interest in the shortages leading to them, in the methods applied and of the efficiency of the work performed. On average, a rural sanitary unit has under its supervision approximately 50, 000 inhabitants. At the beginning of their organization, they had fewer inhabitants, and from 1920 onwards, more. This organization corresponds to that of sanitary nets. The evolution of the organization of sanitary nets was slow at first, from 1908 to 1916 only 17 were established. During the previous war, and especially in the period that followed it, the multiplication of nets took an accelerated pace. By 1932, 610 were organized and equipped. In that year they served approximately 25 million inhabitants, i.e., 34.9% of the country's population, exclusive of cities with over 100, 000 people (1930). In 10 states over 50% of the population was part of these nets. In 1938 their number was 1, 371. The total budget for payments in 1932 was

The steps to organize a Model Sanitary District began in 1928 when the first discussions took place with representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. George K. Strode [36] and Dr. Mitchel Lelland. As a result of these discussions, in 1929, Dr. Iuliu Moldovan (then undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Health) delegated Dr. I. Gomoiu and Dr. P. Râmneanțu to do a thorough initial investigation in the Gilău administrative network, called/ also known as Moților. The research occurred between June and October of 1929 and was published in *Sănătatea Publică* (*Public Health*, official bulletin of the Ministry No. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 of 1930). This investigation was necessary for the precise knowledge of the actual situation in the territory, of sanitary and demographic conditions, before the actual start of organizing the District.[37]

The information obtained from these studies highlights critical societal problems, and here, we are not only referring to health problems. Comprising twenty-five communes and having an area of 838 square km, with a population of 27,718 inhabitants, 68.5 percent Romanians, 30.3% Hungarians, and 1.2 percent other nationalities, before January 1, 1931, the territory had only three rural health districts, each with a doctor, four midwives with a diploma, and two private doctors.[38] "Health institutions such as dispensaries, hospitals, sanatoriums, etc., did not exist. Also, there were no sisters of protection or health workers."[39] If we make a calculation, we notice that a doctor had about 5,544 possible patients, if we exclude private doctors, the situation was even more disastrous, with one doctor for 9,239 people. Only from these data, without considering the distance between patients and

nearly 9 million dollars, made available to them by interested municipalities and cities, by the States, by the Federal Sanitary Service, by the Rockefeller Foundation, by the Sheppard Fund, and by other organizations, such as the Red Cross, the School Committees, the Tuberculosis Association, etc." See P. Râmneanțu, "Sănătatea publică în Statele Unite," *Buletin Eugenic și Biopolitic* XVI, no. 7–12 (1945): 53–54.

[36] Caroline Kronley, "When Problem Meets Solution," *The Rockefeller Foundation*, July 8, 2015, Accessed August 2, 2023 https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/blog/when-problem-meets-solution/.

[37] Zolog, Cosma, Prodan, "Fundația Rockefeller în slujba omenirii," 7.

[38] Ibid, 14.

[39] Ibid.

medical staff, epidemics, social diseases, etc., can we get a reasonably clear picture of public health.

The studies highlight gaps in the first two because education, economy, and health are closely related. Illiteracy was seventy percent in mountain communes and twenty-thirty percent in lowland communes. The Hungarian population contributed less to these figures than the Romanians.[40] Also, it was noted that "the communes in their great majority lack even a small intellectual blanket, and the few leading elements have very often manifested themselves in directions of a completely different nature."[41]

The economic situation was generally modest, private property was small and the land of inferior quality,[42]

> Lacking the enterprise and initiative spirit in search of a more affluent means of living, the population is satisfied with the minimal income from the wealth inherited from their parents. Moreover, the undemanding spirit of the population also contributes to this state of affairs, which has reduced its claims to the lowest imaginable limit in matters of food, housing, and clothing. Because of this, even the most generous households differ extraordinarily little from those without.[43]

Following this study conducted in the territory, the discussions between Rockefeller Foundation representatives Dr. I. Moldovan, Dr. M. Zolog, and the prefects Dr. A Popa and Dr. I Gherman led to the conclusion of an agreement regarding the organization, financing, and operation of the network sanitary, which was later approved by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ministry of Health, through address No. 65,747 of November 20, 1930, and by Cluj County through address No. 18,457 of November 8, 1930. The fundamental principle in the district's organization formed the cardinal point of the health and protection law, namely the priority of hygiene of preventive activity over curative medicine.[44]

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[40] Ibid, 13–14.
[41] Ibid, 14.
[42] Ibid, 13.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid, 8.

The Rockefeller Foundation, following this convention, undertook to grant financial aid for five years, as follows: in the first year (1931) 5,000 dollars, in the second year (1932) 4,000 dollars, in the third year (1933) 3,000 dollars, in the fourth year (1934) 2000 dollars and in the fifth year (1935) 1,000 dollars. The local and Bucharest authorities completed these amounts, respectively. In addition to this financial aid, the Rockefeller Foundation, through Dr. G.K. Strode, Dr. L. Mitchell, and M.E. Tennant, became directly involved in organizing the District and, in the case of the latter, in training the sisters of protection staff.[45]

If we refer to The Gilău Model Sanitary District′s budgets, it can be seen that the Rockefeller Foundation financed its operation by almost fifty percent, especially at the beginning of the road.[46]

As a result of these investments, the sanitary situation, at least at the level of documents, has improved considerably. In the four health constituencies[47] forming the District, protection houses were created[48]/ reorganized. The houses were defined as:

> […] a communal establishment, which aims to serve primarily in the rural environment, as a health, protection, and education institution for the people. Through and within it, action will be taken in all the main branches of public health, thus looking at: the treatment of the sick, the fight against infectious and social diseases, the protection of the mother and child, school hygiene, and especially health education.[49]

According to Article 150 of the health and protection law, these health institutions had to have a mixed dispensary, day care for children, a hospital room for the sick, a bathroom/shower, an isolation room for infectious patients, administrative office, and a home for the foster sister. As the law described an ideal situation, the four shelters, as mentioned above, only partially met these requirements. However, the shelters made available to the population

45 Ibid, 9.
46 See Fig. 1., Fig. 2., Fig. 3.
47 Rechetău, Gilău, Săvădisla, Căpușu Mare.
48 The Rechetăru constituency was created on January 1, 1931.
49 Zolog, Cosma, Prodan, "Fundația Rockefeller în slujba omenirii," 17–18.

a series of free consultations, as follows: prenatal consultations, consultations for infants, preschoolers, school children, dental consultations, and consultations for tuberculosis and venereal diseases. These consultations had a frequency of one-three times a week in all four constituencies.[50]

The staff was supplemented and, starting from January 1, 1931, consisted of: a district hygienist, four circumscription doctors, a leading sister of protection, five sisters of protection, a sanitary agent, an office secretary, a driver, and two servants. In addition to this staff, on certain days of the week, a physiotherapist, a childcare worker, and a dentist contributed to the activities of the District.[51]

The means of locomotion also improved. From the grant received from the Rockefeller Foundation, in 1931, a Ford automobile was purchased. It was necessary in case of epidemics, inspections, vaccinations, and transport of the physiologist, the pediatrician, and the dentist. The District also had three bicycles and a horse.[52] As can be seen, even if investments were made in improving the means of transport, they were rudimentary and insufficient for a population of almost 30,000 inhabitants. As a small comparison in terms of how public money was spent, in 1930, the cost of maintaining a service car at the prefect′s disposal was 350,000 lei, this in the conditions where the employees of the network (one hygienist, four district doctors, three ambulatory doctors, one physiologist, one pediatrician, one dentist, six sisters of protection, one secretary, one sanitary agent, one driver, and two service people) spent, in 1931, 1,203,020 lei. We can also add that the purchase cost of the Ford car was 150,000 lei, practically almost three times cheaper than the maintenance of the Prefect′s car.

Leaving aside these budgetary aspects, through The Gilău Model Sanitary District, it was demonstrated that the sanitary law was applicable without great financial efforts on the part of the Romanian state.[53]

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50 Ibid, 22–23.
51 Ibid, 23–24.
52 Ibid, 26.
53 Ibid, 33.

Instead of Conclusions...

The Rockefeller Foundation has made significant financial contributions to both enhancing the region's hygienic conditions and providing young Romanian students with professional training. While estimating the exact amount that the Rockefeller Foundation invested in Romania is nearly impossible, we must note that, in 1933 alone, talk of an impressive twelve million lei was expressed, of which ten million were to be used for the building of the hygiene (health) institute in Bucharest and the remaining millions for other ministry needs. Newspapers often reported that the United States had extended financial assistance to the Romanian government, confusing the uncrowned king's charitable endeavors with the aid provided by the United States.

Through the Gilău Model Sanitary District, an effort was made to impose contemporary medical procedures because the field was solely focused on curative care, and the area's hygienic conditions significantly improved—at least theoretically. The district served as a testing ground for scientific study and experimentation, a practice area for hygienic physicians, an experimental setting for the 1930 Sanitary and Protection Law, and an experimental field for determining the most effective approaches to hygienic teaching for rural people. Apart from the previously mentioned features, steps were also taken to implement eugenic concepts not only within this net but also in others, such as the sanitary nets from Tomești (Iași) and Gurbănești (Ilfov).

Finally, it should be mentioned that the Rockefeller Foundation was actively involved in setting up the net through individuals like Dr. George K. Strode, Dr. Mitchell Lelland, and M.E. Tennant, in addition to just lending financial assistance to this project.

Illustrations

Bugetul

Plasa Sanitară Model Gilău a avut următoarele bugete:

Pe anul 1931.

I. Personal

1. *Salarii.*

Provenienţa fondurilor

Stat şi judeţ	801.720.—	1.203.020.—
Fundaţiunea Rockefeller	401.300.—	
	1.203.020.—	

II. Material.

2. *Transport.*

Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	42.000.—	241.237.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	199.237.—	
	241.237.—	

3. *Intreţinerea Caselor de ocrotire.*

Provenienţa fondurilor

Stat şi judeţ	160.000.—	220.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	60.000.—	
	220.000.—	

4. *Intreţinerea oficiului.*

Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	40.000.—	80.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	40.000.—	
	80.000.—	

5. *Lucrări de sanitaţie.*

Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	230.000.—	300.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	70.000.—	
	300.000.—	

6. *Neprevăzute.*

Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	40.000.—	54.113.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	14.113.—	
	54.113.—	

Total general : 2.098.370.—

Fig. 1[54]

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[54] Zolog, Cosma, Prodan, "Fundația Rockefeller în slujba omenirii," 27,

Pe anul 1932.

I. Personal

1. *Salarii.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	806.220.—	1.240.620.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	434.400.—	
	1.240.620.—	

II. Material.

2. *Transport.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	62.000.—	122.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	60.000.—	
	122,000.—	

3. *Intreţinerea Caselor de ocrotire.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	150.000.—	200.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	50.000.—	
	200.000.—	

4. *Intreţinerea oficiului.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	30.000.—	40.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	10.000.—	
	40.000.—	

5. *Lucrări de sanitaţie.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	310.000.—	410.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	100.000.—	
	410.000.—	

6. *Neprevăzute.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	19.310.—	29.310.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	10.000 —	
	29.310.—	

Total general: 2.041.930.—

Fig. 2[55]

[55] Ibid, 28.

Pe anul 1938.

I. Personal.

1. *Salarii.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	707.940.—	1.040.940.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	333.000.—	
	1.040.940.—	

II. Material.

2. *Transport.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	60 000.—	120.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	60.000.—	
	120.000.—	

3. *Intreţinerea Caselor de ocrotire.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	92.956.—	132.956.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	40.000.—	
	132.956.—	

4. *Intreţinerea oficiului.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	40.000.—	60 000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	20 000.—	
	60.000.—	

5. *Lucrări de sanitaţie.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	420.000 —	460.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	40.000 —	
	460.000.—	

6. *Neprevăzute.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	10.000.—	12.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	2.000.—	
	12.000.—	

Total general: 1.825.896.—

Fig. 3[56]

[56] Ibid, 29.

Pe anul 1934.

I. Personal.

1. *Salarii.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	766.000.—	979.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	213.000.—	
	979.000.—	

II. Material.

2. *Transport.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	90.000.—	132.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	42.000.—	
	132 000.—	

3. *Intreţinerea Caselor de ocrotire.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	130.000.—	157.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	27.000.—	
	157.000.—	

4. *Intreţinerea oficiului.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	50.000.—	60.000.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	10.000.—	
	60.000.—	

5. *Lucrări de sanitaţie.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	357.500.—	393.500.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	36.000.—	
	393.500.—	

6. *Neprevăzute.*
Provenienţa fondurilor.

Stat şi judeţ	11.602.—	13.602.—
Fundaţia Rockefeller	2.000.—	
	13 602.—	

Total general: 1. 735.102.—

Fig. 4[57]

[57] Ibid, 30.

Interwar Romanian Fashion and Beauty in American *Vogue*[*]

Sonia D. Andraș

This chapter analyzes the representation of Romanian women perceived as *Parisiennes* in the American edition of *Vogue*. It belongs to my larger research on the evolution of Romanian women's identity discourse by analyzing their fashion choices and ideas. While similar subjects on the connection between fashion magazines and foreign style icons have gained impetus in recent years, Romania and its representation remain marginal.

Since its inception, *Vogue* was heavily edited to suit the needs and exigencies of its target readership, elite Americans. The Romania they saw and read about was an ideal, faraway place. Romanian fashion was most visible in the 1920s on the magazine's pages and slowly faded to references, from *en vogue* to *en fog*. I will focus on three main symbolic characters, standing for Modern Royalty with Queen Marie of Romania, Olden Royalty with Princess Marthe Bibesco, and Burlesque Royalty with comedy actress Alice Cocéa. Cocéa's representation can also link to the American appetite for Balkan drama, as seen with the comprehensive coverage of her romantic exploits throughout the European and American press. Interwar glossies like *Vogue* sold the dream of embodying the fashion icons presented on its pages, including Romanian *Parisiennes*, either through the right purchase or suggesting that "hope could perhaps be found in a jar."[1]

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[1] Elizabeth Wissinger, *This Year's Model: Fashion, Media, and the Making of Glamour* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2015), 90–91.

I use Lisa R. Lattuca's methodological model of informed disciplinarity,[2] focusing on the type of research question asked rather than on an evaluative or hierarchical method. In the context of this study, the main field is fashion studies, which needs outreach to other fields, including cultural and social histories, cultural studies (gender, media, urban studies), or semiotics. The subject adds Romanian women's representation in American glossy fashion magazines. It offers new insights into women's fashion through a comparative, interdisciplinary, and multi-perspective original approach, introducing Romania as a legitimate fashion space and Romanian women as international fashion icons, termed as "modern girls" for the 1920s boyish, emancipated flapper/*garçonne* and as "new women" for their more mature, feminine, and maternal 1930s evolution.

In a Romanian context, the "new woman" was reframed to fit post-1948, Communist Soviet, and later national-Communist standards of femininity. Considering the connection between "traditional anthropologic subjects" and the approaches used in fashion studies on analyzing publishing within the larger system and its practices and significations,[3] *Vogue* or its long-term rival, *Harper's Bazaar*, reflect and affect identities on a social, economic, cultural, and psychological level. Its unprecedented influence over the language of fashion over the twentieth century and "significantly underpinned the modern idea of fashion as a global phenomenon," widening the scope of America's commercial networks.[4] I integrate its material and symbolic meanings into a historical, geographical, cultural, social, aesthetic, and ideological context applied to both the United States and Romania's reflection as depicted and understood by the American fashion press and the public. Parisian-Romanian fashion icons in *Vogue* become advice literature agents directing the reader's

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2 Lisa R. Lattuca, "Creating Interdisciplinarity: Grounded Definitions from College and University Faculty," *History of Intellectual Culture* 3, no. 1 (2003): (1–20), 5–6.

3 Helen Kopnina, "The World According to Vogue: The Role of Culture(s) in International Fashion Magazines," *Dialectical Anthropology* 31, no. 4 (December 2007): (363–81), 364, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10624–007–9030–9.

4 Christopher Breward, *Fashion* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 122.

behavior, appearance, and identity.[5] Publications like *Vogue* brought together inaccessible items alongside related advertisements, with Avant Garde art to the wider reading public.[6] Nevertheless, as Malcolm Barnard asserted, fashion communication cannot be expressed through a simple sender/receiver explanation. It can instead introduce clothes and accessories as prostheses within a semiological communication model. As Barnard explained, any added or contradictory messaging added to clothes can be, at best, perceived as noise in the transmission, challenging the assumption that garments inherently transmit subliminal messages.[7]

Similarly, dress in modernity was an identity expression tool rather than a signal of differentiation.[8] It is also true that fashion has been borne out of the realms of luxury, and they continue to be deeply linked.[9] *Vogue*'s core identity relates to fashion discourse as dialogue between affluent, style-conscious women and fashion editors. Romanian women in *Vogue* expressed themselves or were made to talk through their fashions. Still, as Alison Matthews David contended, despite its French-sounding name and fashion-centric focus, *Vogue*'s birth was an "inherently American cultural phenomenon."[10] The magazine maintained its exclusive ties to Europe's social and economic elites embracing a "new nationalism," informed by "more populist understandings of 'authentic' American taste and style in dress." Furthermore, as Christopher Breward asserted, *Vogue* imposed a visual aesthetic through its fashion illustrations and photographs "abstracted and

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5 Grace Lees-Maffei, "From Service to Self-Service: Advice Literature as Design Discourse, 1920 1970," *Journal of Design History* 14, no. 3 (January 1, 2001): 187–206, https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/14.3.187.

6 Véronique Pouillard, "FASHION FOR ALL? The Transatlantic Fashion Business and the Development of a Popular Press Culture During the Interwar Period," *Journalism Studies* 14, no. 5 (October 2013): (716–29), 727, https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2013.810907.

7 Malcolm Barnard, "Fashion as Communication Revisited," *Popular Communication* 18, no. 4 (October 1, 2020): (259–71), 268–9, https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2020.1844888.

8 Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, 2nd ed. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 120.

9 Paula Von Wachenfeldt, "The Myth of Luxury in a Fashion World," *Fashion, Style & Popular Culture* 5, no. 3 (October 1, 2018): (313–28), 314, https://doi.org/10.1386/fspc.5.3.313_1.

10 David, "Vogue's New World," 13.

fetishized the surfaces of fashionable life," defining the magazine's identity throughout its history and international spread[11]. Indeed, it was the first of its kind to use photography as "norm rather than the exception."[12]

As modernity's consumerist culture grew throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries, artistic establishments like galleries or museums began adopting "some characteristics of the commercial space, as well as marketing strategies."[13] Fashion studies encompass this evolution through an interdisciplinary, transnational approach, constantly negotiating between art and technology, theory and practice, creativity and imitation, colonialism and multiculturalism. As a scholarly field, it acknowledges fashion as transitory and eternal, where "excess and austerity are two sides of the same coin."[14] This is relevant as not all historical accounts of glossy fashion magazines, including *Vogue*, emphasize the broader context of geography, culture, or commerce.[15] As demonstrated here, *Vogue* even placed both on the same page. Within modernity's mutually-profitable symbiosis between fashion and journalism, exclusive fashion glossy magazines, especially *Vogue,* blend the need for social disruption and selling products.[16] Despite its American identity, *Vogue* viewed Paris as the heart of fashion. With competition from non-Parisian fashion capitals aside, the *esprit parisien* promised innovation and transformation[17], driving the world's imagination. Its female embodiment is *la Parisienne*, as a marker of the French capital's

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[11] Breward, *Fashion*, 122–123.

[12] Valerie Cumming, C. Willett Cunnington, and Phillis Cunnington, *The Dictionary of Fashion History* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2010), 156.

[13] Gloria Jiménez-Marín, Irene González-Ariza, and Elena Bellido-Pérez, "Historical *Vogue* Covers as a Space for the Relationship Between Art and Advertising Through Fashion," *Revista Internacional de Historia de La Comunicación*, no. 17 (2021): (104–34), 106, https://doi.org/10.12795/RiCH.2021.i17.06.

[14] Jessica Burstein, "The September Issue: Excess and Austerity in Fashion," *Modernism/Modernity* 23, no. 1 (February 17, 2016): (219–31), 220, https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2016.0014.

[15] Kate Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 13.

[16] Ibid, 6.

[17] Agnès Rocamora, "Paris, Capitale de La Mode: Representing the Fashion City in the Media," in *Fashion's World Cities*, ed. Christopher Breward and David Gilbert (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006), (43–54), 45.

aesthetic and cultural spirit.[18] While she is a symbol and not necessarily French, the *Parisienne* and her "effortless French street style," coupled with a necessary proximity to Parisian couture houses, prompted Condé Montrose Nast to push for a *Vogue* French edition.

But before Condé Nast, there was Arthur Baldwin Turnure. On the other side of the ocean in New York, Turnure founded *Vogue* as a weekly elite newspaper in 1892. Condé Nast purchased it in 1909, beginning *Vogue*'s evolution as a fashion magazine. The editor-in-chief was Edna Woolman Chase,[19] credited for America's first catwalk in 1914, "extending into the audience to afford a good view of the clothes."[20] Chase's trailblazing event offered the first proof that "fashion did not need to be French." American creators were not compelled to copy Parisian models and "could step forward and develop their own style."[21] This realization did not fully manifest until much later, again under belligerent conditions, after World War Two. Still, *Vogue* alluded to French fashionability and refined cultural landscapes, adding to its older maritime connotations.[22]

Weaving an Overture

While *Vogue* was among the markers of gendered aesthetic, cultural, social, and ideological radical shifts or late-nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century modernity, it maintained a "largely conservative stance."[23] Even before Greater Romania and like today, elites were commonly presented during events, especially weddings. In May 1907, *Vogue* declared Princess Marie of Romania the most beautiful "of all the princesses of Europe," coupled with "that rare quality, charm" with an "understanding of line"

[18] Ibid, 51.

[19] Editor-in-chief between 1914 and 1952, over *Vogue* and its foreign editions, British *Vogue* in 1916 and *Vogue Paris* in 1920.

[20] Wissinger, *This Year's Model*, 69.

[21] Nina-Sophia Miralles, *Glossy: The Inside Story of Vogue* (London: Quercus Editions, 2021), 49–50.

[22] David, "Vogue's New World," 15.

[23] Ibid, 14.

from a powerful artistic sense. She not only blended in any environment but attracted attention as "the most beautiful and interesting figure." Motherhood made "this English Princess, transplanted into this far-off Balkan State" worthy of reverence from her "proud and fortunate subjects."[24] An advertisement for *Vogue*'s 1910 winter fashions number listed an article titled *Marriageable Princesses of Europe*, which included Princess Elisabeth of Romania[25], later Queen Elisabeth of Greece.

Romania's crucial moments, like the very making of Greater Romania, could also appear, filtered through the lens of *Vogue*. In the summer of 1919, fashion journalist Jeanne Ramon Fernandez reported for the American magazine about Queen Marie's visit to Paris as days "brilliantly filled with entertainment" and "fresh assurances of peace," along with "the returned frock coat." Fernandez asserted that Queen Marie dominated the Parisian elite circles for a week. Besides visiting her friends in the Parisian high society, the Paris Press Syndicate organized a matinée at the Opera, dedicated a box to Queen Marie, her daughters, and "the ladies of her suite."[26] (Fig 2) The third and fourth pages were divided in half with ads. On the third, a whole-page ad for *Bonnie*, an "imported human hair net" for "fascinating French coiffures," was placed next to illustrations of Princess Murat and another outfit worn by the Countess of Beaumont.[27] The article's ending occupied the right half, while on the left, the whole-page advertisement encouraged readers to dress their young sons in *Kaynee* blouses. The magazine included a full-page photo of then-Queen Marie by English portrait photographer Bertram Park for the International Film Service a month later. The Queen posed in a semi-profile, wearing an elaborate cocktail round hat with a long veil, a fur coat on one shoulder over a dark, simple gown, and a pearl necklace. The caption explained that Queen Marie left a "glowing

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[24] "A Charming Princess and Her Family," *Vogue*, May 2, 1907, (722–3), 722.

[25] "The Winter Fashions Number," *Vogue*, October 15, 1910, 100.

[26] Jeanne R. Fernandez, "Paris Knows the Royal Way to Entertain a Queen," *Vogue*, June 15, 1919, (36–37, 84, 86), 36.

[27] Ibid, 84.

impression" in London and Paris as "one of the loveliest and most beloved figures in Paris." The text also announced an upcoming American visit alongside Princess Elisabeth.[28] On the next page, *Vogue* presented the informal-yet-*haute couture* Parisian leisurewear as the French capital took "its summer in a sportive way," also authored by Fernandez.[29]

The Romanian 'Modern Girl' in the Land of the Flapper

By the 1920s, *Vogue* shifted its attention toward American creative enterprises and individuals. The globalized industry selling fashioned ephemeral illusions, with *Vogue* as principal mouthpiece for the American elite, was beginning to change in conjunction with modernity, capitalism, and consumerism. While Condé Nast embraced the full benefits of copyright law, *Vogue*'s editorship reluctantly accepted that fashionable young American women were no longer compelled to travel to Paris as an "obligatory rite of passage," which eventually led to preferences for sports or easy-to-reproduce styles. The 1920s began the dissolution of class or ethnicity differences, challenging early *Vogue*'s core philosophy.[30] This strategy was in line with the general feeling of the decade regarding women in America. It propagated worldwide through Hollywood and, as in the case of this research, *Vogue* and its international editions. The proverbial flapper was understood as the ultimate consumer, with an instilled philosophy of consumption. She was to look her best and to do that, she was directed toward the best quality in products and designs she could afford.[31] Starting Romania's most visible era *en Vogue*, a February 1920 article claimed that the *House of Rodier* succeeded in its industrial reconstruction and offered "the loveliest of spring textiles." The Rodier collection promoted what the magazine's editor called "a new Orientalism in the mode." As seen here, categories marked as outside, including the Other, exotic, or Oriental, are

28 "H. M. the Queen of Roumania," *Vogue*, July 15, 1919, 26.

29 Fernandez, "Paris Takes Its Summer in a Sporting Way," *Vogue*, July 15, 1919, 27–30, 87.

30 David, "*Vogue*'s New World," 32.

31 Lucy Moore, *Anything Goes: A Biography of the Roaring Twenties* (London: Atlantic Books, 2009), 70.

common in fashion advertising, with *Vogue* at the forefront, as "good selling points in the global market."[32] Rodier's designs were informed by North African, Romanian, Serbian, and "Near East" designs. "A detail from a galoon sleeve "in bright red cotton blocked in blue and white" was a "primitive touch of colour borrowed from a Romanian peasant's costume." As an ideal athleticwear, it featured Romanian *crêpe* "widely patterned in deep rich colours."[33] A bright-colored galloon patterned in red and black, white, or "blue and white against red" could work just like a Romanian folk costume embroidery.[34] Six years later, a full-page *Wilkins & Adler* advertisement presented a model sitting on travel trunks next to a world map, wearing *a Golflex* frock in an "exclusive new fabric – with 'Romanian' embroidery."[35]

At the dawn of 1921, *Vogue* included an advertisement for Eleanor Adair's new American cosmetic clinic fashioned as a letter to current and potential clients. Adair explained that the US first received her eighteen years before great success, alongside her "salons in London, Paris, and agencies in Bucharest, Australia, and the Orient," all frequented by beautiful, high-status women[36]. By spring, the magazine published an entire-page portrait of Elizabeth Bibesco taken by Baron de Meyer. She was pictured wearing a simplified *fin-de-siècle*-style ball gown, her hair bob-like, secured with a fine bandana and a fur mantle. While not Romanian by birth, Princess Bibesco, née Asquith, participated alongside her husband, Prince Antoine Bibesco, in personal activities and official functions in Romania's interest[37]. The magazine offered a detailed illustrated presentation of the couturier and art collector Jacques Doucet's latest creations on the next page.

In February 1922, *Vogue* published another portrait of Princess Elizabeth Bibesco, a closeup by E.O. Hoppe. Her attire was reminiscent of earlier styles, with a chignon secured with a nature-themed fabric coronet, a thin pearl

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32 Kopnina, "The World According to Vogue," 366.
33 "French Fabrics 'Come Back' in Oriental Mood," *Vogue*, February 1, 1920, (45, 140, 142), 45.
34 Ibid, 142.
35 "Wilkin & Adler Ad," *Vogue*, January 15, 1927, 9.
36 Eleonor Adair, "Mrs. Adair's Message to the American Women," *Vogue*, January 1, 1921, 90.
37 "Princesse Bibesco," *Vogue*, April 15, 1921, 24.

necklace, and what appears to be a sheer blouse over a simple gown. The caption was slightly updated from the previous year to mention her latest book, *I Have Only Myself to Blame*, a collection of short stories and "subject of much discussion."[38] The following article by *Vogue* editor and author Marjorie Hillis[39] on patterned fabrics in fashion. The issue featured an illustrated spread of "gowns which the Parisienne is wearing now." As the bolded subtitle explained, "a discerning eye may catch hints of those which will be worn in the coming spring." Among the notable examples or unnamed couture designs, theatre and cinema actress of Romanian heritage, Alice Cocéa was pictured in a Callot Soeurs "unusual combination of black and navy blue satin." The bodice was made of blue satin with green silk embroidery, while the black skirt had "long stands of green silk," accessorized with a short likely-pearl necklace, several bangles on her left hand, and simple pumps.[40] Cocéa's representation gives an "Oriental" overall impression, more like a Chanel little black dress than a Poiret exotic extravaganza. Cocéa appeared two weeks later in a spread on predictions for "coming fashions" from the latest French theatre plays because "an important part in the creation of modes is conceded to the Paris stage." She is separated by a thin line between the other illustrations, in a sheer gown from Callot made of "finely pleated lemon yellow chiffon and gold lace, with touches of black" with "immense" sleeves she wore while playing Denise in the musical comedy *Dédé* by Henri Christiné and Albert Willemetz.[41] For interwar *Vogue*, France was still interchangeable with Paris. (Fig. 9)

In September 1922, *Vogue* published a full-page illustrated report on the wedding between Queen Maris's daughter, Princess Marie of Romania and King Alexander of Yugoslavia as an event "of world-wide interest." Her wedding gown was described as a "white georgette crêpe embroidered with pearls and strass." One illustration showed the newlywed couple exiting

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38 "Princesse Bibesco," *Vogue*, February 1, 1922.

39 Marjorie Hillis, "The Surface View of the Mode," *Vogue*, February 1, 1922, 27–29.

40 "Gowns That the Parisienne Is Wearing," *Vogue*, February 1, 1922, 35.

41 "Predictions of Coming Fashions," *Vogue*, February 15, 1922, 61.

"the Cathedral at Belgrade" towards the carriage notes that her court mantle included the Serbian and Romanian coat of arms embroideries. The article concluded that her silver cloth mantle had silver motifs and rhinestones, while her "superb mantle" measured five yards long. The black-and-white illustration showed the Princess leaning or sitting with her head turned to the side while gazing towards the upper right corner. She appears to be wearing a vaporous, translucent gown with dark, long feathers. She wore no jewelry except for two wide bracelets and a large ring, likely with diamonds. Her hair seems tied at the back with a curl on the side[42]. (Fig. 1)

Queen Marie's fashion and beauty icon fame made her name a powerful promotion tool. In its vividly illustrated whole-page ads, *Houbigant Paris* used European royal female names as a promotion tool, proving that their brand had been used since Marie Antoinette. (Fig. 3) In its 1922 listing, Queen Marie was listed on top.[43] The 1923 change of perspective towards America was still not all-encompassing, especially connected to Romania and its fashion icons perceived as *Parisiennes*, in this context, Queen Marie, Marthe Bibesco, and Alice Cocéa. In the summer of 1924, Queen Marie posed in medieval-inspired attire, complete with a dark, full-length veil over a white gown. The veil was secured with a pearl-laden tiara and two pearl necklaces, one on her head and under the chin. She wore darker lipstick and no other visible accessories except for pearls. The caption clarified that the photograph was taken at a spring ball at the seventeenth-century Palazzo Barberini in Rome, hosted by Donna Viviana di Sangro.[44] Next to the illustrated page, an article by the "visiting Frenchwoman" Jeanne Ramon Fernandez described the fashionable Italian elites on the backdrop of Rome's antique legacy.[45]

The name Bibesco frequently appeared alongside regular references to the Romanian Royals. For instance, an illustrated outline of the latest

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42 "A Royal Marriage of World-Wide Interest," *Vogue*, September 15, 1922, 72.

43 "Houbigant Paris Ad," *Vogue*, December 1, 1922, 16D. "Houbigant Paris Ad," *Vogue*, December 1, 1923, 16B.

44 "H. M. the Queen of Roumania," *Vogue*, June 15, 1924, 30.

45 Jeanne Ramon Fernandez, "Gala-Days in the Eternal City," *Vogue*, June 15, 1924, 31–36.

Reboux hat models worn by aristocratic women shows "the Princess Bibesco" donning a "picturesque violet felt hat." The caption does not offer more details about *which* Princess Bibesco it portrays, but it likely refers to Marthe Bibesco. The hat is described as reminiscent of the Second Empire, only trimmed with purple velvet wide bands and two bows. The text explains that its color choice represented "most of its chic."[46] In the summer of 1925, *Vogue* published a richly illustrated essay written by Marthe Bibesco, titled *My Roumania*, focusing on two of her favorite Romanian spots, Mogoșoaia "on the plains" and Posada "on the hills." According to the article, Bibesco was "well known as an author in French circles," noting that her book *The Eight Paradises*[47] received a commendation from the French Academy.[48] In one of the images, Bibesco posed romantically in a canoe on a lake alongside her daughter, Valentine, in comfortable but elegant clothing, Marcel waves, and discreet makeup among water lilies.[49] The last page included an advertisement for *Whiting-Cook Fine Stationery*, "the finest paper that can be made."[50] (Fig. 7) By the end of the year, Queen Marie, too, appeared. A whole-page *Pond's* advertisement, like *Houbigant*, listed her first among those offering an "unqualified approval."[51] A year later, *Vogue* included an article about her favorite Romanian spots, authored by Viola M. Jones.[52] In 1928, an article titled "Roumania, the Colourful" featured an image of Queen Marie in a stylized Romanian folk costume as the epitome of the Romanian spirit.[53] (Fig. 5) However, *Pond's* honored her again in April, who dedicated an entire full-page advertisement to her as "the most beautiful Queen of Europe," attesting to the brand's efficacy.[54] (Fig. 4)The mid-December 1926 issue presented the Queen's chic and regal wardrobe with personalized models

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[46] "Chapeaux," *Vogue*, October 1, 1924, (54–57), 56.
[47] Originally in French as *Les huit Paradis*, published by Hachette et Cie in 1908.
[48] Marthe Bibesco, "My Roumania," *Vogue*, June 15, 1925, (65–67, 96), 65.
[49] Ibid, 67.
[50] "Whiting-Cook Fine Stationery Ad," *Vogue*, June 15, 1925, 96.
[51] "*Pond's* Ad," *Vogue*, December 15, 1925, 99.
[52] Viola M. Jones, "Queen Marie's Playhouse," *Vogue*, November 15, 1926, 166.
[53] "Roumania the Colourful," *Vogue*, March 15, 1928, (194, 196) 194.
[54] "*Pond's* Ad," *Vogue*, April 15, 1925, 132A.

by Jean Patou.[55] (Fig. 6) A similar illustrated piece appeared in the summer of 1924 with Lucien Lelong designs.[56]

Meanwhile, New Yorkers continued to see advertisements for French products across the ocean. Illustrated full-page advertisements for *Parfums D'Orsay Pars* published throughout 1926 featured Bucharest among continental branches[57]. A Parisian fashion report by Jeanne Ramon Fernandez again presented an unidentified "Princesse Bibesco." As the caption explains, her Vionnet outfit used when receiving guests for tea consisted of a black alpacca frock, tightly fitted at the hips, with a white *crêpe de chine* front which "fashions an immense fichu" secured with a pearl and diamonds Persian brooch.[58] Another mention of "Princesse Bibesco" came in February 1928, likely Marthe Bibesco, with a one-page article written by the Princess next to one of her famous photographic portraits from a series taken by Berenice Abbott in Paris.[59] In all the photographs taken during this photoshoot, Bibesco wore a simple black dress with long sleeves with a small V-shaped décolletage, a thin, likely diamond bracelet, a scarf tied across the neck, a large flower brooch pinned on the chest, long earrings with a larger precious stone at the bottom, and a simple black cloche covering all her hair. The caption framed her as "one of the distinguished women writers of to-day" well known for *Isvor* and *The Green Parrot*, alongside "the new 'Catherine-Paris." It then mentioned her husband, Prince Bibesco, "the head of the Bibesco family," and that the following page featured an article authored by the Princess,[60] (Fig. 8) titled *The Lure of the Other Woman's Gown*. (Fig. 7) It first appeared in French within a series published in *Vogue Paris* monthly throughout 1927 by the Princess.[61] The twelve articles, alongside unpublished essays, were collected in a volume titled *Noblesse de Robe,* published in

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[55] "The Wardrobe of a Queen," *Vogue*, December 15, 1926, (52–53), 52.
[56] "The Wardrobe of Her Majesty Queen Marie of Roumania," *Vogue*, August 15, 1924, 39.
[57] "Parfums D'Orsay Ads," *Vogue*, 1926, September 1, 111; October 1, 141; December 1, 135.
[58] Jeanne Ramon Fernandez, "Paris: Summer, 1926," *Vogue*, June 1, 1926, (52–56, 134), 56.
[59] Currently at the Clark Art Institute, Williamstown.
[60] "Princesse Bibesco," *Vogue*, February 1, 1928, 68.
[61] Bibesco, "Odette ou la robe d'autrui ne désireras," *Vogue Paris*, October 1, 1927, 33.

1928.[62] Neither the image caption nor the English translation published in the American edition mentioned the French series or the book, despite its intrinsic connection to *Vogue*'s essence. By the decade's end, the nine-year-old French *Vogue* gained editorial autonomy[63]. However, forty-four days after Black Thursday, a full-page advertisement for *Parfums Rallet* showcased its No. 1 and No. 3 perfume bottles sold in five sizes, with prices ranging from 3.50 to 22.50 dollars, and powder boxes in three colors, all sold for three dollars[64]. Conversely, the most expensive bottle amounted to almost seven percent of the average total expenditures per family estimated for 1929.[65] Just as *Houbigant* had done in the decade's early years, *Rallet* mentioned the brand was by appointment of Royal and Imperial Houses worldwide, beginning with Romania.[66] (Fig. 3)

'New Women' on Both Sides of the Atlantic

The 1930s witnessed the diverging philosophical directions between *Vogue*'s American and French editions. As Sophie Kurkdjian observed, since the latter gained its independence, it diverged from the New York-imposed commercial focus towards constructing an idealized, artistic image of the *Parisienne*. Unlike the more obedient British *Vogue*, the autonomy exercised by *Vogue* Paris editor-in-chief Michel de Brunhoff led to a "fundamental, but largely unrecognized, conflict between two editorial teams."[67] The Paris-through-Bucharest route still appealed to American *Vogue*. In the early 1930s, Alice Cocéa, in her "blonde evening satin" at the Gymnase, was a staple of Parisian life, part of its unchanging events and characters, as reported in

[62] Idem, *Noblesse de robe* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1928), 117–26.

[63] Sophie Kurkdjian, "The Emergence of French *Vogue*: French Identity and Visual Culture in the Fashion Press, 1920–40," *International Journal of Fashion Studies* 6, no. 1 (April 1, 2019): (63–82), 64, https://doi.org/10.1386/infs.6.1.63_1.

[64] Around $62 to $399 and respectively $53 in 2023.

[65] United States. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *How American Buying Habits Change* (U.S. Department of Labor, 1959), 226.

[66] "Parfums Rallet Ad," *Vogue*, December 7, 1929, 139.

[67] Kurkdjian, "The Emergence of French Vogue," 64–65.

January 1932 by fashion editor Solange D'Ayen.[68] A month later, one of the illustrated fashion pages as an ink sketch, titled *Interest at the Décolletage*, included "Princesse Antoine Bibesco" sitting on a stool with her legs crossed, wearing a Worth "brilliant evening frock."[69] By summer, socialite feminist, activist, and diplomat Florence Jaffray Harriman presented the fashions of America's diplomats and politicians. Among them, *"Mme. Nano,"* the Romanian Legation Counselor's wife,[70] in an all-white outfit, wearing a kimono-type blouse with short square sleeves, a long flowing dress, and a white cartwheel accessorized with a darker ribbon visible through the hat's see-through material.[71] (Fig. 10)

In the spring of 1932, *Vogue* published another Marthe Bibesco-signed article on "democracy in dress." The Princess began her article with the story of her aunt, Princess Jeanne Bibesco, a Carmelite nun since fifteen, having "left the world" at a time when the women around her "were still wearing laces and crinolines." Due to political reasons, she was forced to leave the convent as a "political agent to Pope Leo XIII." During that time, Princess Jeanne stayed with the Bibescos in Paris, incidentally when Marthe Bibesco was "in deep mourning, wearing cloth and *crêpe anglais*, according to the old tradition," which her aunt ignored. She did react during a visit by Bibesco's cousin, Hélène, wearing "the usual elegance of the modern Parisian," which convinced Marthe Bibesco of "the revolution that had taken place in fashions." As Bibesco explained, Hélène wore a "delightful" Chanel jersey dress "of the most expensive simplicity." Princess Jeanne commented that Hélène's outfit was unfit for a Princesse, considering that, in her days, woolen dresses were only acceptable in mourning and jersey was "the uniform of the poor." This interaction catalyzed a revelation about the significant changes in women's fashion since the late-1800s, "not in a matter of line, voluminousness, and

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[68] Solange D'Ayen, "Vogue Points from Paris About Life and Clothes," *Vogue*, January 15, 1932, 51.

[69] "Interest at the Décolletage," *Vogue*, February 1, 1932, 36.

[70] Likely Romanian diplomat Frederic Nanu.

[71] Florence Jaffray Harriman, "Washington," *Vogue*, July 1, 1932, (23–25), 24.

pattern, but a profound difference in the actual material" comparable to the early-nineteenth-century revolutionary simplification in menswear. Early interwar women's fashion was equally democratized, meaning that even noble ladies could discard "feathers and furbelows" and maintain their "superiority." She attributed this change to "Mademoiselle Chanel," who convinced aristocrats they were "independent of their fineries."[72] Bibesco admitted she sometimes wondered whether simplicity, Chanel's invention, was not informed by a "deep-rooted and mischievous instinct of the plebeian" that could have driven her to impose jersey, "the restrained aesthetics of the poor" on the social and economic elites. She compared Chanel's method to the ancient Greeks, who could, as her father once remarked, make finer decorative pieces than elaborate Chinese ones in amethyst and jade. For Bibesco, the early-interwar zeitgeist generated a "hitherto undreamed of resemblance between the appearance of the woman of leisure and the woman who works." 1920s women became *flâneuses*, walking freely on the city streets, which is why, Bibesco believed, women's fashions have simplified to this degree. From a fashion journalism perspective, publications centered around Avant Garde or discriminatory aesthetic ideas are habitually consumed by larger entities in the field, like Condé Nast for *Vogue*, or as Kate Best put it, a "cycle of democratization following heightened discrimination." Bibesco's observations on jersey's evolution from the working class to Chanel-donning elites could be interpreted as replacing artistic disruption with worker's practical dress. Practicality and luxury are the extreme ends of the dress spectrum. Fashion, as presented in *Vogue,* tends to favor "luxury of superior fashion goods" as "distinctive and industry-supported expressions traditionally tied to the fashion seasons and collections."[73]

Another revolutionary fashion shift was through sport, which Bibesco defined as a "substitute for work." Such activities require materials and

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[72] Bibesco, "Democracy in Dress," *Vogue*, March 1, 1932, (76, 96, 98), 76.

[73] John Armitage and Joanne Roberts, "The Globalisation of Luxury Fashion: The Case of Gucci," *Luxury* 6, no. 3 (September 2, 2019): (227–46), 228, https://doi.org/10.1080/20511817.2021.1897268.

designs accounting for movement, the environment, and potential hazards. In her view, riding automobiles and planes also affected fashion as elements from the chauffeur or aviator "uniforms" have been adopted by stylish ladies. Bibesco asserted that the "extreme neatness" of democratic fashion saved it from vulgarity. Floating veils, tulle, and billowing wraps were no longer essential in women's outwear, especially considering the danger they could pose to the wearer. As Bibesco detailed, what she termed "Chanel's formula" consisted of the total rejection of ornaments, frills, and "nonsense." Her contemporary fashionable dresses seemed "so neat that they never seem to collect dust," but they gave no impression of permanence. The article occupied half of the page here, while an illustrated ad for Smart Sport filled the other half, knitted suits and dresses "created exclusively by" Cohen Bros. Corp in New York.[74] Bibesco asserted that the "new aesthetics" is based on two diverging possibilities that eventually lead to the same destination: the young and beautiful woman whose natural loveliness is undermined by ornaments and the older woman lacking beauty in dire need of "that Chanelesque simplicity that has now been reduced to a fine art." As the Princess concluded, Chanel guarded "the secret of nothing becoming something, and, in fact, the only possible thing," by doing that, she spread "democracy of dress" across the world. Yet, Bibesco quoted Chanel's resentment at being compared to great painters. While a painter's work "most shock to-day and be acclaimed in fifty years," Chanel's creations should be seen as enchanting "at once" and ridiculous within a year. The article conclusions occupied half of the page, while the other was another illustrated ad, this time for *Kiki* by Elizabeth Arden, a "solid silver case for loose powder" that was "so cunningly contrived that it holds a big puff and plenty of powder."[75]

The Princess appeared again in late 1934 as an example of culture, style, and pedigree in a *Vogue Eye's View of the Modes* report by writer and

[74] Bibesco, "Democracy in Dress," 92.

[75] Ibid, 98.

critic Marya Mannes, who was appalled by women's flagrant falsification of beauty despite admitting the practice has always been present. She offered a "horrid example of what happens to Oriental women who covet Occidental eyes," a "fad phenomenon" in Japan at the time. Mannes applauded the Japanese government's will to curtail "this defamation of their traditional beauty," achieved through cosmetic surgery. The author indicated examples published in the current issue to "see how it's done." Marthe Bibesco symbolized the "fine contradiction to this feminine falsity" as "one of the most brilliant women in Parisian society" and "a deft and sensitive writer." Mannes briefly presented her biography and contributions to the magazine. She announced Bibesco's subsequent first-time visit to New York and stated that, alongside the entire *Vogue* staff and readership, she eagerly awaited "her written reactions to this fabulous place."[76] (Fig. 8) The feedback came in January of the following year. Bibesco, now described as "a well-known European lady of letters and author of *Catherine-Paris*," recounted her impression of visiting New York for the first time.

From her first sentence, Bibesco clarified that the article was to be understood from a woman's perspective, as she declared that New York's air "lashes women, forcing them to walk erect" and look upwards at the tall buildings in a city that "emanates pride." She then narrowed the focus even more, stating that she referred to the women on the streets because those encountered in "drawing-rooms" were as common as "women you meet everywhere," namely Cannes in January, Paris in May, London in June, and Venice in September. Looking at the women perusing New York's streets, Bibesco marveled at their freedom as she observed New York's gendered segregation between uptown and downtown New York. Men assembled daily in the "penned up, quartered, inaccessible" downtown, while women occupied the upper town as *flâneuses*, walking the streets "freely, victoriously," just like warriors. In her view, women were bellicose, "armed from head to foot, hat triumphant, torso held high, conquering eye," gaining Bibesco's

[76] Marya Mannes, "Vogue's Eye View of the Mode," *Vogue*, November 1, 1934, 35.

admiration as they strode "magnificently up to the portals of the only victory that counts (if you believe the moralists) – victory over self." At lunch, the Princess observed that while she sat at a table in a "fashionable restaurant" alongside three men, fellow foreigners, no woman ate alone, and there were at least three at each table.

Bibesco contrasted European women's education, emphasizing self-doubt with the apparent American self-assertiveness. As she explained, for European women, beauty was directly proportional to the need to apologize, highlighting "their melancholy, their contrition, their heat-broken air," as opposed to the proud and unapologetic relationship to beauty in America. She believed the reason was youth, as New York's women's enchanting and heroic character is driven by the fact that they were "even younger this year than they were the year before," a process curtailed only through death. For Bibesco, New York women were worthy of the "beautiful name" given to stars by Egyptian priests, as "The Indefatigables" for their courage, "flaunting their gowns like banners." Contrary to expectations, Bibesco claimed that Americans emanated distinction, not vulgarity. She also applauded New York's elegance and sense of familiarity despite the architectural grandeur of the environment and sympathetic hotel and service staff.[77] (Fig. 7) She believed the reception girl's politeness, always adding "please" and "thank you" to the conversation, was important enough to mention in the article's concluding paragraph. As she explained, American women brought "hats, perfumes, and dresses" across the ocean. Unlike other European women, she returned to Europe with "visions" instead of stockings.[78]

In September 1938 and almost two months after Queen Marie's passing, *Vogue* published an article by Grand Duchess "Marie" Pavlovna about the Romanian Queen. As the caption explained, the text was already in the works when the news broke by "a melancholy coincidence." Among the few Americans who "knew the late Queen more intimately or had a more sympathetic understanding," the Grand Duchess was already aware of her

[77] Marthe Bibesco, "The Aura of New York," *Vogue*, January 15, 1935, (40, 88) 40.
[78] Ibid, 88.

friend's precarious physical and emotional state during her last visit to the Bran castle, the article's focus. Pavlovna dedicated a long paragraph to the Queen's preferences regarding tea gowns. She noted that Queen Marie designed her tea gowns, carefully choosing "beautiful fabrics – heavy, rich silks that fell into graceful pleats," especially "old brocades" or embroideries, and traveled without her favorite pieces. At least in terms of her tea gowns, the Grand Duchess pointed out the Queen did not shy away from vivid shades, namely "blues, reds, and oranges – colours that suited her complexion and hair that looked gay in her softly-lighted rooms."[79] While tea gowns do not necessarily classify as fashion items, this description can provide subtle personal clues about Queen Marie's preferences, which were rarely visible in her private or public functions as a British and then Romanian Royal Family member. Large advertisements for less glamorous products accompanied the second half, including a large top-to-bottom Northmont advertisement promising innovative silk stockings with *Precious* cosmetic oil sold for one dollar a pair[80], adjacent to Pavlovna's text about Queen Marie's biography and Bran's surroundings. The conclusion emphasizing the Queen's loneliness and tragic circumstances was next to a small advertisement for *Wear-Right* gloves "styled according to the new fashion themes" and *Pagan Charm*, a Schiaparelli-designed Formfit corset sold "at the better corset departments" to embody the model's essence, one who "must be free, radiating the pagan joy of living."[81] A month later, the federal minimum wage was enacted, starting at 0.25 dollars, compared to 7.25 dollars in 2009,[82] while white bread averaged 8.9 cents.[83] But *Vogue* readers were wealthy by design. But between

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[79] Maria Pavlovna, "Queen Marie of Roumania," *Vogue*, September 1, 1938, (72–73, 110–1), 72–73.

[80] Around $21.52 in 2023.

[81] Pavlovna, "Queen Marie," 110–1.

[82] Around $5.38 and $10.25 in 2023. Wage and Hour Division, "History of Federal Minimum Wage Rates Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938–2009," *US Department of Labor Archives*, December 19, 2019, http://www.dol.gov/agencies/whd/minimum-wage/history/chart.

[83] Around $1.94 in 2023. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Retail Prices* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938), https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/003922687.

1933 and 1935, Americans could book luxury Mediterranean cruises, completed with "Vagabond Cruises" for "less than $5[84] a day by large freighters" to North African and European countries, including Romania.[85] Families who could afford them represented a less than nine percent bracket.[86] Bucharest was still a worthy mention in *Vogue*'s fashion and cosmetic advertisements. For instance, a 1936 ad for *Du Barry Beauty Preparations* by Richard Hudnut in Paris and New York included Bucharest among its international branches.[87] The same cities appeared a month later in another Richard Hudnut advertisement of the "Maytime magic of your salon-at-home."[88] (Fig. 11)

Tailored Impressions into the Future

American *Vogue* did not expect its source of everything elegance and fashion to be cut off as the 1940s began with World War Two becoming more and more of a reality. Just two months before the Nazi army occupied Paris, the magazine reported how joyous Paris was in the spring of 1940, with celebrated comedy actress of Romanian heritage Alice Cocéa having returned to Europe. As the subtitle explained, Paris laughed at her "playing a zany," while Reginald Beckwith entertained Londoners. Cocéa's importance for French theatre was solidified by the *Vogue* editor claiming it "becomes important again" with her return as a "gadfly wife" in Armand Salacrou's popular play *Histoire de Rire*, also aided by the new schedule, from seven to ten o'clock. The play was described as witty but "hard on women," as Cocéa's character is "an irritating, addle-pated wife with an active imagination and no bothersome inhibitions about the truth." Faithful to her heartbreaker vamp persona, Cocéa's role and performance functioned, according to the article, as proof that "behind each marriage there are a mistress and a lover." Compared to a "top New York production" in tempo, the play focused on

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84 Around $117 in 2023.

85 American Export Lines Ads *Vogue*, March 1, 1933, 17h; March 15, 1935, 34.

86 Daniel Starch, *The Income of the American Family* (New York, 1930), 20.

87 "Du Barry Beauty Preparations Ad," *Vogue*, April 1, 1936, 4.

88 "The Maytime Magic of Your Salon-at-Home," *Vogue*, May 1, 1936, 129.

character and dialogue comedy rather than the "French-farce plot, complicated and flaky as a croissant." The article was accompanied by two stills from the play, showing Cocéa in a black, long, frilled gown with puffed short sleeves. As accessories, she wore a necklace and thick bracelet, apparently decked with large, expensive jewelry, over an elegant updo or a simple hat with thin curls over the ears.[89] (Fig. 12)

World War Two curtailed the Paris-New York link, granting local creatives and brands more opportunities to access the elite American fashion circuit[90], including *Vogue*'s fashion and advertising pages. This development was unlike what had happened with *Vogue*'s direct connection to Paris during World War One, promptly reactivating their Parisian correspondents as soon as the important couture houses had reopened and promptly curtailing its support towards American creators.[91]

The five-year interruption of Parisian messaging between the Occupation and the end of World War Two generated a different attitude towards local and national fashion production and creativity from *Vogue*'s editorial management, with assurances that post-Liberation Parisian fashions would not affect the prominence of American design.[92] In the last months of the war and with *Vogue Paris* still under suspension, the American edition published two illustrations of the little black dress, or as it was termed in the captions and title, the "uncluttered black dress." As a product of "uncluttered" modernity, the black dress was described as among the look's "most dramatic settings," in one case a "bold" juxtaposition with an "advanced locomotive" model and a "serenely dimensional" placement next to *Fish* by Constantin

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[89] "Laughter in London and Paris Theatres," *Vogue*, April 15, 1940, (52–53), 53.

[90] Frédéric Godart, "The Power Structure of the Fashion Industry: Fashion Capitals, Globalization and Creativity," *International Journal of Fashion Studies* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 2014): (39–55), 41, https://doi.org/10.1386/infs.1.1.39_1.

[91] Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism*, 13.

[92] Sandra Stansbery Buckland, "The Fashion Worlds of Paris and the USA during World War Two: Competition, Contact and Business, 1939–45," in *Paris Fashion and World War Two: Global Diffusion and Nazi Control*, ed. Lou Taylor and Marie McLaughlin (London, New York, Oxford and New Delhi: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), (139–60), 154.

Brâncuși.[93] (Fig. 12) After the war, *Vogue* mentioned Romania mostly on commercial, tourist, or political grounds. In July 1947, three months after launching Dior's New Look,[94] the magazine's advertising section included a note about the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe (CARE), listing Romania among recipients. As the announcement noted, one ten-dollar[95] donation ensured "21.6 pounds of foods (more than 40,000 calories)," two Army-surplus blankets with sewing tools, two pairs of heels, and soles. Beneficiaries could create one-hundred-percent wool "warm, durable clothing" "in three conservative popular colors" alongside accessories.[96] The announcement was next to two fashion advertisements, a Julep Belt of the Month and a Merry-Go-Round Peter Pan bra. On the upper left side, the same page contained a fragment of a three-page gourmet article by Hungarian-American journalist Illés Bródy with exotic recipes, including poultry, avocados, seafood, coconuts, or bananas.[97] The juxtaposition is striking in its contrast between the situation and needs in Europe and the American elite's luxurious lifestyle, just as fashion solidified its New Look.

Despite the social and political upheavals in the years following World War Two, the Bibesco name was still uttered in textual, visual, or marketing contexts. For instance, a September 1947 *Pond's* full-page advertisement no longer mentioned Queens and Empresses, instead listed Princess Priscilla Bibesco, the daughter of Antoine and Elizabeth Bibesco, the third among "some of the beautiful women of society who use *Pond's*."[98] Almost a year later, Marthe Bibesco was again pictured in an illustrated presentation of the 1948 Parisian social season at the Ritz fifteenth anniversary reception hosted by Marie-Louise Ritz.[99] (Fig. 12)

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[93] "Uncluttered Black Dresses," *Vogue*, January 1, 1945, 44–45.
[94] "Paris Spring Collections," *Vogue*, April 1, 1947, front cover.
[95] Around $136.04 in 2023.
[96] "CARE: Package Service for Europe," *Vogue*, July 1, 1947, 85.
[97] Iles Brody, "Hot Foods," *Vogue*, July 1, 1947, (75, 84–85), 85.
[98] "*Pond's* Ad," *Vogue*, September 1, 1947, 233.
[99] "Paris Season," *Vogue*, August 15, 1948, (150–3, 189), 151.

In February 1949, the magazine published an opinion piece by Jean Cocteau depicting Romanian-Greek Parisian Countess Anna de Noailles as endowed with "a royal politeness of ear" and a genius for talking."[100] The second page flanked Cocteau's article between two full-page rectangles: an announcement listing the stores selling a Botany costume suit and a Tilda Worsted *crêpe* dress, as shown previously in the issue, and an advertisement for Bien Jolie, creator of the "world's finest corsetry," fashioning the "daring look" as "excitingly feminine."[101] (Fig. 12) American *Vogue* readers have been following the life and legacy of Anna de Noailles since as early as her marriage to Count Mathieu de Noailles in 1897, reported in late 1898 by Comtesse de Champdoce.[102] (Fig. 1)

Romanian Royals remained *en Vogue* even after King Michael's abdication, leading to the Popular Republic of Romania, now under the baton of Jessica Daves[103]. The March 1955 issue featured an interview with Queen Marie's youngest daughter, Princess Ileana, at her Newton, Massachusetts home. The author, Lucile Howard, asserted that despite Princess Ileana's blood ties to European Royals, she lived "an American woman's life, busy with her household and her profession."[104] Howard proceeded to detail the Princess' cooking habits and preferences, complete with recipes.[105] The same month but thirty years later, *Vogue* included a review by Suzanne Hart of Hannah Pakula's biography of Queen Marie[106]. After the tumultuous and excruciatingly costly[107] eight years with Diana Vreeland at the helm[108], *Vogue* was now led by Grace Mirabella[109]. Hart's exclusive interview focused on

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[100] Jean Cocteau, "Best of Talk," *Vogue*, February 15, 1949, (81, 129), 81.

[101] Ibid, 129.

[102] Comtesse de Champdoce, "Paris (From Our Correspondent.)," *Vogue*, September 29, 1898, 202, 206.

[103] Editor-in-chief between 1952 and 1962.

[104] Lucile Howard, "Romania in New England," *Vogue*, March 1, 1955, (82–84), 82.

[105] Ibid, 84.

[106] Hannah Pakula, *The Last Romantic: A Biography of Queen Marie of Roumania* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985).

[107] Miralles, *Glossy*, 141.

[108] Editor-in-chief between 1963 and 1971.

[109] Editor-in-chief between 1971 and 1988.

Pakula's personal journey into writing about Queen Marie.[110] The second page included a coupon for a free sleepwear, loungewear, and sportswear catalog by Eileen West.[111] (Fig. 13)

More recently, in the twenty-first century, in December 2003, American *Vogue* presented a list of the "season's best gift books" by writer, journalist, and translator Leslie Camhi.[112] It included an album dedicated to French photographer Jacques Henri Lartigue[113] and an illustration of Romanian-French model Reneé Perle. As Camhi noted, the book reawakened the interest in Lartigue, inspiring Carolina Herrera's Spring 2004 collection.[114] Its earlier presentation in *Vogue Runway* credited "the languid, light-soaked Riviera photos taken by Jacques-Henri Lartigue at the turn of the last century," but not Perle herself, describing the general feeling of the ready-to-wear collection presentation's feeling was "all blue skies and lavender-scented Mediterranean breezes."[115] Perle reappeared in 2010 when Anna Wintour[116] identified her as a possible inspiration for the June summer look[117]. (Fig. 13) The same year, *Vogue Paris* became *Vogue France* in 2021.[118] Wintour's letter proved that even if Paris seems to have been downgraded on fashion influence, it was still at the heart of *Vogue*'s philosophy. And through Paris, interwar Romanian women perceived as Parisians are still relevant, with *Vogue* continuing to function as a "geographical hub linking the old and new worlds of fashion."[119]

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110 Suzanne Hart, "Hannah Pakula's Magnificent Obsession/This Real West," *Vogue*, March 1, 1985, (317–320), 317.

111 Ibid, 320.

112 Leslie Camhi, "Books: Legends in the Making," *Vogue*, December 2003, 190.

113 Martine d'Astier, Quentin Bajac, and Alain Sayag, eds, *Lartigue: Album of a Century* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003).

114 Camhi, "Books," 190.

115 Janet Ozzard, "Carolina Herrera Spring 2004 Ready-to-Wear," *Vogue Runway*, September 14, 2014, https://www.vogue.com/fashion-shows/spring-2004-ready-to-wear/carolina-herrera.

116 Editor-in-chief since 1988 and Condé Nast Global Chief Content Officer since 2020.

117 Anna Wintour, "Taking the Long View," *Vogue*, October 2010, 94.

118 Eugénie Trochu, "Vogue Paris Becomes Vogue France," *Vogue France*, October 26, 2021, https://www.vogue.fr/fashion/article/vogue-paris-becomes-vogue-france-magazine-name-change.

119 David, "Vogue's New World," 14.

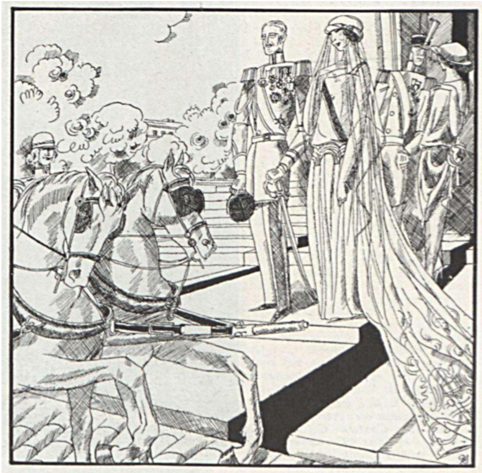
This survival is also aided by fashion photography's evolution from emphasizing material qualities to symbolic visual storytelling, which also deters a "direct commentary (if ever it really could) on the political economy of style as it is manufactured and worn."[120] While contemporary Romanian designers can access the glossy fashion magazine system through creative and commercial channels, interwar Romanian *Parisiennes* can only exist within "the dream" as symbols.

Conclusion

Vogue presented one facet of Romania, no less real than the lived and remembered experience inside its borders. *Vogue,* in essence, irrespective of its original American or foreign editions, presented a highly cosmetized image of the world, Romania included. The Romanians presented in the interwar era and the rare subsequent recalls were not included because they were Romanian. They were fashion icons under their family, social, or professional status. With the three symbolic characters chosen, modern Royalty (Queen Marie), olden Royalty (Marthe Bibesco), and burlesque Royalty (Alice Cocéa), despite its growing upheavals, interwar Romania managed to become a constant presence in a magazine consumed by America – or New York's – social and economic elites. As their images slowly faded from *en vogue* to *en fog*, even the glimmer of recognition of modernity and global impact through culture and fashion of women coming from a faraway, magical land somewhere in Europe dimmed down gradually, in tandem with the old world. While *Vogue* does not shy away from mentioning Romania as an origin point and beloved homeland for these three symbolic characters, they have been included more within the larger group of European royals, nobility, and elites, and in Alice Cocéa's case, specifically Parisian entertainment. The cycles of Romanian representations in magazines like *Vogue* run concomitantly with history. Each aspect and edition deserves academic attention, as demonstrated by the symbolic trio chosen for this presentation.

[120] Breward, *Fashion*, 122.

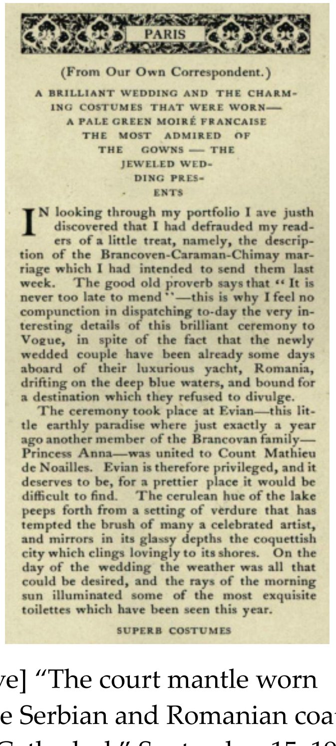
Illustrations





Fireside Studio

Miss Dorothy Norris, the daughter of Mr. Alfred E. Norris, of New York and Philadelphia, was recently married to Lieutenant Raoul Alevra, of Bucharest. The wedding took place at the Norris villa on the cliffs at Narragansett. The bride is wearing a wonderful Chinese pearl head-dress



PARIS

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

A BRILLIANT WEDDING AND THE CHARMING COSTUMES THAT WERE WORN—A PALE GREEN MOIRÉ FRANCAISE THE MOST ADMIRED OF THE GOWNS — THE JEWELED WEDDING PRESENTS

IN looking through my portfolio I ave justh discovered that I had defrauded my readers of a little treat, namely, the description of the Brancoven-Caraman-Chimay marriage which I had intended to send them last week. The good old proverb says that "It is never too late to mend"—this is why I feel no compunction in dispatching to-day the very interesting details of this brilliant ceremony to Vogue, in spite of the fact that the newly wedded couple have been already some days aboard of their luxurious yacht, Romania, drifting on the deep blue waters, and bound for a destination which they refused to divulge.

The ceremony took place at Evian—this little earthly paradise where just exactly a year ago another member of the Brancovan family—Princess Anna—was united to Count Mathieu de Noailles. Evian is therefore privileged, and it deserves to be, for a prettier place it would be difficult to find. The cerulean hue of the lake peeps forth from a setting of verdure that has tempted the brush of many a celebrated artist, and mirrors in its glassy depths the coquettish city which clings lovingly to its shores. On the day of the wedding the weather was all that could be desired, and the rays of the morning sun illuminated some of the most exquisite toilettes which have been seen this year.

SUPERB COSTUMES

Fig. 1. Marriage News. [Above] "The court mantle worn by the Princess was embroidered with the Serbian and Romanian coats of arms. Here royal pair are shown as they left the Cathedral." September 15, 1922, page 75. [Left] November 1, 1920, page 65. [Right] Wedding of Anna de Noailles, fashion report, September 29, 1898, page 202.[121]

[121] All images and captions are taken from the American edition of *Vogue*.



Fig. 2. Jeanne Ramon Fernandez, *Paris Knows the Royal Way to Entertain a Queen*. 15 June 1919, page 36.



Fig. 3. Ads mentioning Queen Marie directly or the Romanian Royal House. [Above] *Houbigant*. December 1, 1922, 16D. [Below] *Parfums Rallet.* 7 December 1929, page 139.



Fig. 4. What the Most Beautiful Queen in Europe Says about Her Skin. Elaborate Pond's ad. 15 December 1925, page 99.

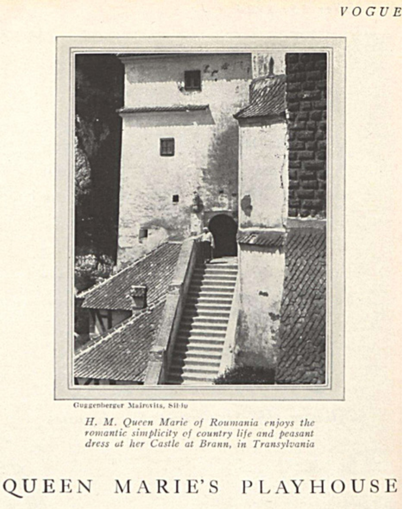








Fig. 5. Articles about and images of Queen Marie.
[Above Left] Viola M. Jones, *Queen Marie's Playhouse*, November 15, 1926, page 166.
[Above Right] Maria Pavlovna, *Queen Marie of Roumania*, September 1, 1938, 72.
[Below Left] *Roumania the Colourful*, March 15, 1928, page 194.
[Below Right] *H. M. the Queen of Roumania*, June 15, 1924, 30.



Fig. 6. Queen Marie, fashion icon. *The Wardrobe of a Queen*, December 15, 1926, pages 52–53.



June 15 — 65

MY ROUMANIA

by

PRINCESSE BIBESCO

In the following article, the Princesse Bibesco gives two vivid, but contrasting pictures of Roumania—one of Mogosoëa on the plains, where a large part of every year is spent, and one of Posada, in the hills, where she goes with her family during the hot months. Princesse Bibesco is well known as an author in French circles, and her book, "The Eight Paradises," has been crowned by the French Academy

THE heart of Roumania, my native land, hangs forever in the balance—half Orient, half Occident. Here is a dual nature, two distinct faces, and two opposing elements which yet powerfully attract each other. Land of contrast, of flame and of frost, she is one of the infinitely sensitive *points de résonnance* of the universe. It is to show these two faces, the shadowed and the sunlit, that I have lightly sketched these familiar scenes.

Plains—endless soft distances melting into the horizon; marshes—plains which lie under water; and the sky—blue plain of the sun: that is the country which surrounds Mogosoëa. From my terrace, only eleven kilometres from Bucharest, there is all the illusion of the desert, of repose, the calm of an Oriental country. Like every land of sleeping waters, it is also a land of dreams, where the trees are phantom shapes and the reeds grow mistily, like a low-lying haze.

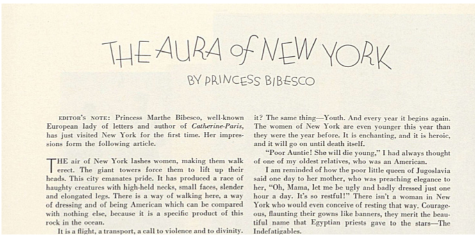
MOGOSOËA OF THE PLAINS

There is no need here to present a monograph on the subject of Mogosoëa, already admirably described in the *Bulletin de la Commission des Monuments Historiques*, by Monsieur Virgile Draghicéano, and, also, by Professor Iorga, in his fine work, *l'Art Roumain*. It is enough to say that it was the spring pleasure palace of Constantin Bassarab Brancovan, Prince of Valachie. A contemporary of Louis XIV., with whom he carried on a diplomatic correspondence, he had the love of architecture and of beautiful gardens characteristic of the seventeenth century.

During the reign of Brancovan, one of the longest in the history of Roumania, an art was born, the expression of a people who, after long centuries of groping, harassed by barbarians, in the hour of happy respite had found themselves, at last. This art allies itself quite naturally with that of Byzantium, of Granada, of Ravenna, and of Venice—other impossible meeting-places of East and West.

From the Venetian scala, at Mogosoëa, the Princesse can look over her lovely garden, where an army of irises bloom every spring

(Left) At Posada, one looks over peaked housetops to the hillsides where the tallness of the trees piles itself upon the tallness of the mountains



THE AURA of NEW YORK

BY PRINCESS BIBESCO

EDITOR'S NOTE: Princess Marthe Bibesco, well-known European lady of letters and author of *Catherine-Paris*, has just visited New York for the first time. Her impressions form the following article.

THE air of New York lashes women, making them walk erect. The giant towers force them to lift up their heads. This city emanates pride. It has produced a race of haughty creatures with high-held necks, small faces, slender and elongated legs. There is a way of walking here, a way of dressing and of being American which can be compared with nothing else, because it is a specific product of this rock in the ocean.

It is a flight, a transport, a call to violence and to divinity.

it? The same thing—Youth. And every year it begins again. The women of New York are even younger this year than they were the year before. It is enchanting, and it is heroic, and it will go on until death itself.

"Poor Auntie! She will die young," I had always thought of one of my oldest relatives, who was an American.

I am reminded of how the poor little queen of Jugoslavia said one day to her mother, who was preaching elegance to her, "Oh, Mama, let me be ugly and badly dressed just one hour a day. It's so restful!" There isn't a woman in New York who would even conceive of resting that way. Courageous, flaunting their gowns like banners, they merit the beautiful name that Egyptian priests gave to the stars—The Indefatigables.



February 1, 1928 — 69

THE LURE of the OTHER WOMAN'S GOWN

BY PRINCESSE BIBESCO

WHO does not know one, at least, of those odd women who always want just the dress they don't possess, the dress they feel they must have—in a word, the dress that some one else has? In the case of Odette, this is more than an occasional eccentricity, or whim; it is a veritable fault. I might almost say, a defect of character.

Her wardrobes are choked, her clothes-closets full to overflowing. Yet, on the eve of every journey, when her maid begins to pack, she finds herself confronted with an unsolvable problem—how to get the too much into the too little—and rushes to the nearest luggage shop to demand an expanding trunk!

Nevertheless, only yesterday, seeing me appear at her house in a black mousseline dinner-dress, which was not particularly remarkable, Odette treated me as if I had achieved some brilliant personal success worthy of public commendation. Since I understand her weakness, I tried at once to disgust her with the garment. I said, truly enough, "But you know this dress. It is a model from last season. It has been seen everywhere. You must have had it."

I to conclude? What does she? The certitude that, if we should meet, it is I who would blush for lacking that delicacy that forbids bringing the original and the copy together in the same place.

Odette's husband, who knows her way and tries to excuse instead of correcting it, says to me in confidence, "After all, she might have chosen the same model from X's, where she generally goes. There are no dresses made as single models, to-day."

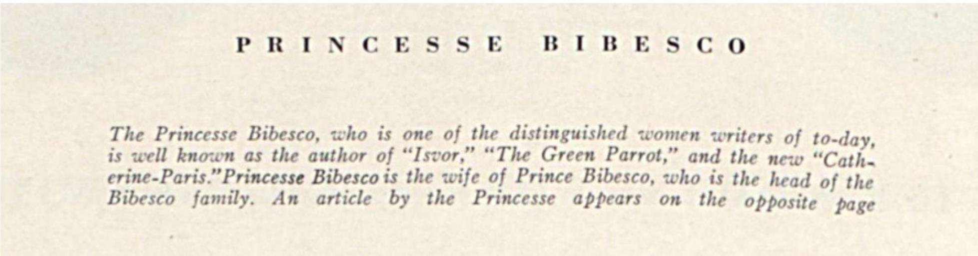
A TRAGEDY OF ERRORS

This is true, but to find this same dress at the dressmaker's is just what Odette is not capable of doing. The only gowns that she orders are those she does not like, and the only gowns she likes she finds on her friends. By not exercising her taste, she ends by having none. With her, this faculty has atrophied. And do not think that her mania is altogether guileless! She begins, at first, by wishing not to meet her best friends, the very ones to whom she can say, "Would you mind lending me your dress?" But, from the moment that the thing is done, it is really better not to see them again.

Fig. 7. Marthe Bibesco's articles in American *Vogue*. [Above] *My Roumania*, June 15, 1925, page 65. [Middle] *The Aura of New York*, January 15, 1935, page 40. [Below] *The Lure of the Other Woman's Gown*, February 1, 1928, page 69.







PRINCESSE BIBESCO

The Princesse Bibesco, who is one of the distinguished women writers of to-day, is well known as the author of "Isvor," "The Green Parrot," and the new "Catherine-Paris." ***Princesse Bibesco*** *is the wife of Prince Bibesco, who is the head of the Bibesco family. An article by the Princesse appears on the opposite page*

Fig. 8. Marthe Bibesco, fashion icon. [Above Left] February 1, 1928, page 68. [Above Right and Below] Marya Mannes, *Vogue's Eye View of the Mode*, November 1, 1934, page 35.



Fig. 9. Alice Cocéa, fashion icon. [Left] *Predictions of Coming Fashions*, February 15, 1922, page 61. [Right] "For Mlle. Alice Cocéa, Callot devised this unusual combination of black and navy blue satin. The blue satin bodice is embroidered in green silk, and long strands of green silk fall over the skirt of black." *Gowns That the Parisienne Is Wearing*, February 1, 1922, page 35.



Fig. 10. "Mme. Nano, wife of the Counselor of the Roumanian Legation." Florence Jaffray Harriman, *Washington*, July 1, 1932, page 24.







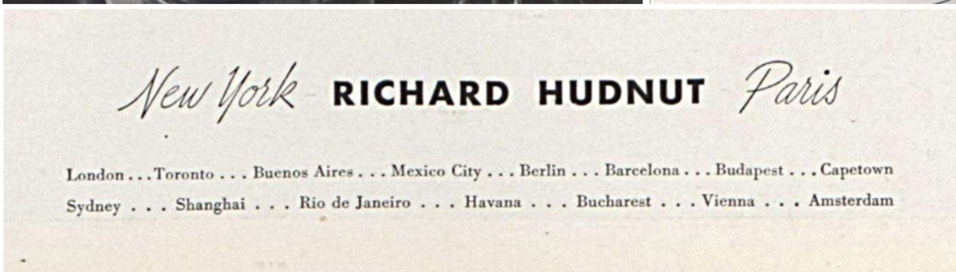
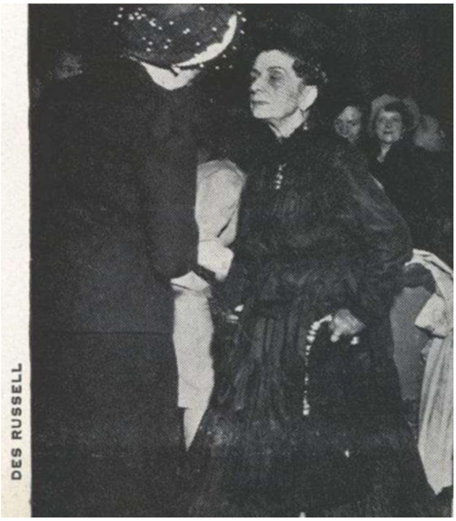
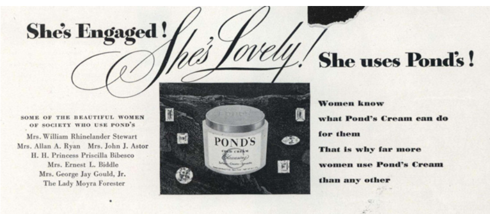


Fig. 11. Ads mentioning Bucharest or Romania. [Above and Middle Right] *Goflex*. January 15, 1927, page 9. [Middle Left] *American Export Lines*. March 1, 1933, page 16h. [Below] *Richard Hudnut*. April 1, 1936, page 4.









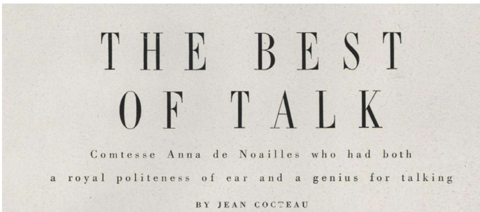


Fig. 12. Romanians in Vogue in the 1940s. [Above left] Princesse Marthe Bibesco at the Ritz Anniversary Reception. Paris Season, August 15, 1948, page 152. [Above Right] *Laughter in London and Paris Theatres*, April 15, 1940, page 53. [Middle] *Uncluttered Black Dresses*, January 1, 1945, page 45. [Below Left] *Pond's*. September 1, 1947, page 233. [Below Right] Jean Cocteau, *Best of Talk*, February 15, 1949, 81.

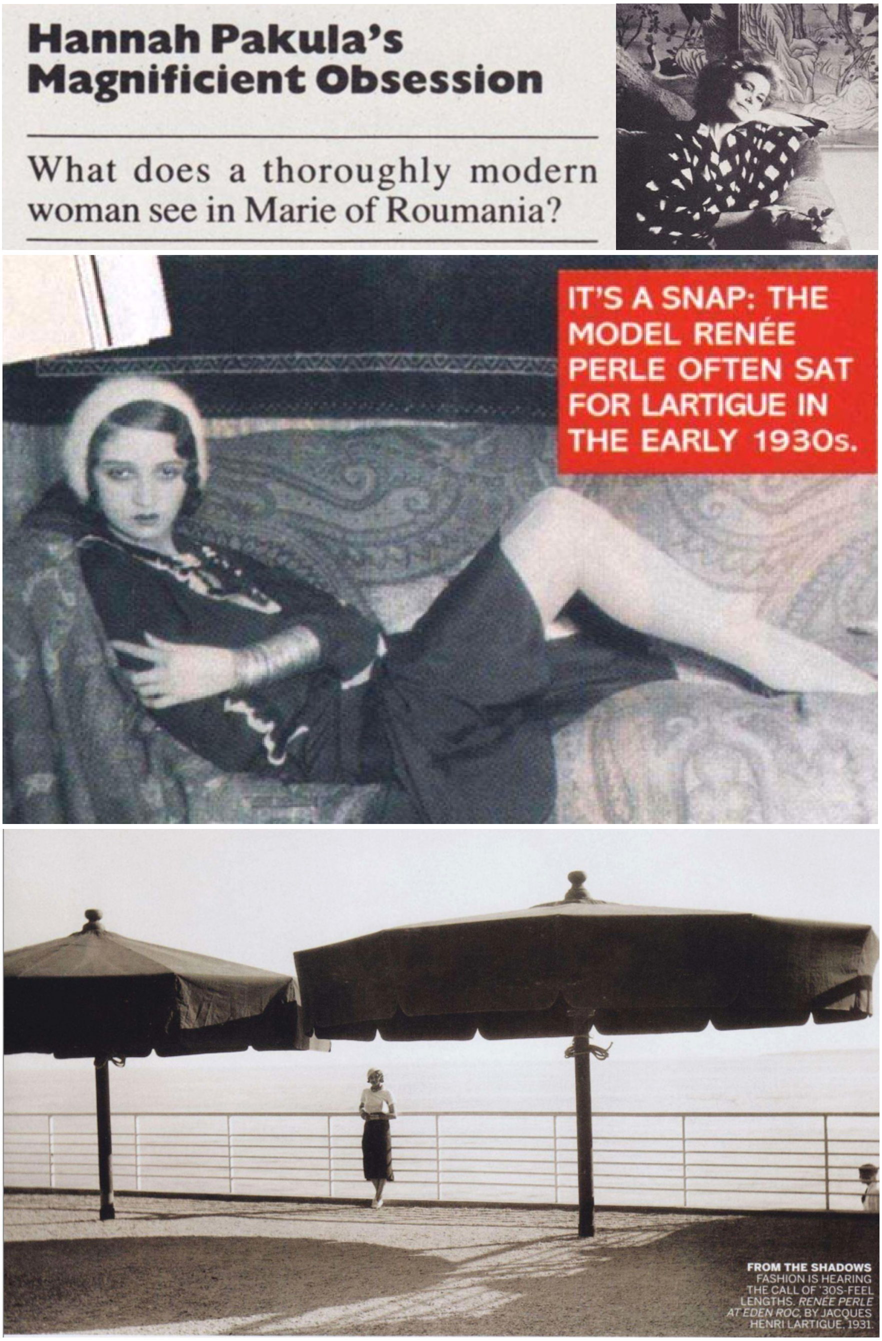


Fig. 13. Romanians in *Vogue* in the twenty-first century. [Above and Second Row] Suzanne Hart, *Hannah Pakula's Magnificent Obsession/This Real West*, March 1, 1985, page 317. [Third Row] Leslie Camhi, *Books: Legends in the Making*, December 2003, page 190. [Below] Anna Wintour, *Taking the Long View*, October 2010, page 94.

Petru Comarnescu and "Homo Americanus"

Iulian Boldea

Petru Comarnescu's (1905–1970) destiny was convoluted and contradictory. The dramatic historical background betrayed him. Comarnescu, a literary and art critic, writer, and translator, earned degrees from the University of Bucharest in philosophy and literature (1929) and law (1928). Also, the author received a scholarship to study in the United States from 1929 to 1931. His thesis, *The Nature of Beauty and Its Relations to Goodness* earned him a PhD in philosophy from the University of Southern California in 1931. It was later translated into Romanian under the title *Kalokagathon* in 1946.

Comarnescu's role as editor is also essential. In collaboration with Constantin Noica, Mihail Polihroniade, and Ionel Jianu, he edited the journal *Acțiune și reacțiune* (*Action and Reaction,* 1929–1930). Later, in 1931, he and Camil Baltazar established the periodical *Tiparnița literară* or *The Literary Printing Press*. Comarnescu was a scholar in Geneva in 1932 and served as the University Group for the League of Nations secretary from 1931 to 1937. Petru Comarnescu made his literary debut with the book *Homo americanus*. (1933).[1] The same year, he published the book *Zgârie-Norii New York-ului* (*Skyscrapers of New York*),[2] mirroring his American experience.

The writer held several relevant administrative positions: inspector of theatres at Direcția Generală a Teatrelor (the General Directorate of Theatres, 1933–1950), editor at Editura Fundației (the Foundation Publishing House), then at Editura de Stat pentru literatură și artă, E.S.P.L.A. (State Publishing House for Literature and Arts, 1934–1951), editor of the publications *Politica*

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[1] Petru Comarnescu, *Homo Americanus* (Bucharest: Vremea, 1933), with a portrait by Milița Pătrașcu, Criterion Collection.

[2] Idem, *Zgârie-Norii New York–ului* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească 1933), Criterion Collection.

(1926–1928), *Rampa* (1926–1927), *Ultima oră* (1928–1929), *Vremea* (1932–1938), *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* (1934–1947), *Timpul* (1942–1947), *Națiunea* (1948–1949) and *Universul* (1949–1952).

Acknowledged as the founder of the *Criterion* intellectual generation, which also included Constantin Noica, Mircea Vulcănescu, Mircea Eliade,[3] Mihail Sebastian, and Dan Botta, Petru Comarnescu was acclaimed for his outstanding publishing activity. Later, in 1966, during the communist regime, Comarnescu was appointed as Romanian commissioner at the Venice Biennale with the Țuculescu exhibition. At that time, Petru Comarnescu published monographs and art history studies on influential artists: *Magdalena Rădulescu* (1946), *Șirato* (1946), *Octav Băncilă* (1954), *Ion Țuculescu* (1967), *Constantin Brâncuși, mit și metamorfoză în sculptura contemporană* (1972).

Not to be overlooked is the writer's notable translation work. He has translated works by well-known authors worldwide into Romanian and prefaced them (Theodor Dreiser, Jack London, O'Neill, Alain Fournier, Charlotte Bronte). At the same time, Comarnescu wrote an extensive diary, out of which the volumes *Chipurile și priveliștile Europei* (*The Faces and Sights of Europe*, 1980)[4] and *Jurnal* (*Journal,* recording events between 1931 and 1937, published in 1994) were published posthumously.

As a prominent publicist of the interwar period, Petru Comarnescu was notably recognized for his research and writings in the area of art criticism, which portrayed the image of a polyphonic intellectual who transcended disciplinary boundaries and placed his art at the nexus of important spaces and domains (aesthetics, memoirs, art criticism, etc.). Moreover, in *Panorama deceniului literar românesc 1940–1950* (*The Panorama of the Romanian Literary Decade 1940–1950*), critic Alexandru Piru considered Comarnescu a fervent and knowledgeable philosopher of culture.[5] Insofar as he represented "the same sense of the roundedness of the exalted and the traditional fulfillment

[3] Mircea Eliade, *Oceanografie* (1934).

[4] Comarnescu, *Chipurile și priveliștile Europei* (Cluj: Dacia, 1980).

[5] Alexandru Piru, *Panorama deceniului literar românesc 1940–1950* (Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură, 1968).

of man by labor: thinking, deed, and emotion," Ion Frunzetti also emphasized the value of the art critic as a dialectician.

The books *Homo americanus* (1933), *Zgârie-Norii New York-ului* (1933), *America văzută de un tânăr de azi* (*America Seen by a Young Man Today*, 1934)[6] later collected in the volume *Chipurile și priveliștile Americii*[7] (*The Faces and Sights of America*, 1940) and *America. Lume nouă – viață nouă: 1930–1947* (*America. New World – New Life,* 1947)[8] achieved an extensive fresco of the American space, which truly fascinated him. He thus developed a human typology—the American worker, the businessman, the priest, and the sportsman—that was both unique and diverse, using his talent for character analysis and talent as a publicist. In addition to extensive or brief commentary on events, these volumes provide personality profiles and micro-monographies of various cities (New York, Boston, Chicago, etc.), essays on American art, and vivid depictions of landscapes. Above all, the author's flexible and approachable gaze and the allure of the encyclopedic circumscription of the inventory of a world undergoing perpetual transformation and development stand out in Petru Comarnescu's fascinating pages. Furthermore, it is remarkable how the journey memoir and the art essay's description, portraiture, narration, and epistolary style are blended in varying ratios to create a textual structure that emphasizes the autobiographical exercise with its advantages and disadvantages. It originates from Comarnescu's tremendous autobiographical vocation, which shows how writing can be expressive and dynamic. Comarnescu's diary is approximately five thousand pages long. From this immense diary, quite extensive fragments were published in the book *Chipurile și priveliștile Europei* (1980), in which we find notes on the art of Brâncuși, on the organization of the Venice Biennale (1966), on the discovery of Țuculescu or the fate of Romanian personalities in the diaspora.

Comarnescu mixes a synthetic spirit with a capacity for conceptualizing in his work as an essayist and art critic, as evidenced in *Kalokagathon* (1946),

[6] Idem, *America văzută de un tânăr de azi* (Bucharest: Adevărul, 1934).

[7] Idem, *Chipurile și priveliștile Americii* (Bucharest: Cugetarea-Georgescu Delafras, 1940), with eighteen engravings, two maps and a cover by Petre Grant.

[8] Idem, *America. Lume nouă – viață nouă: 1930–1947* (Bucharest: Remus Cioflec, 1947).

which served as the basis for his doctoral thesis. The University of Southern California hosted the defense of *The Nature of Beauty and Its Relations to Goodness*. It was based on the idea of Plato and Aristotle—passed along via the American philosopher Herbert Wildon Carr — about the synthesis of Goodness (agathon) and Beauty (kalos), which is reinterpreted and reemphasized, highlighting the intimate relationship between the ethical and the aesthetic in the context of both natural beauty and the many transformations of art. Morality is "the art of beautifying existence, according to our innate sense of harmony, guided by moral obligation," according to Petru Comarnescu, if "beauty is something mysterious, through which one can participate in the supreme Good." This deeply held kalo-kagathia imperative can be summed up in these crucial, provocative, and plastic statements: "Create yourself so that all your actions, in all the variety of your experience, are a harmonious, right and beautiful unity for yourself and for others." One could interpret Comarnescu's book as a sincere defense of the humanist claim that ethical principles are inherent in artistic creations. This idea can also be seen in monographic studies that pay tribute to notable artists, where it manifests itself in various creative ways: *Magdalena Rădulescu* (1946), *Șirato* (1946), *Octav Băncilă* (1954), *Viața și opera lui Rembrandt van Rijn* (1957), *N. Grigorescu* (1959), *Ștefan Luchian* (1960), *Ion Jalea* (1962), *N.I. Tonitza* (1962), *Ion Sava* (1966), *Ion Țuculescu* (1967), *Deineka* (1968), *Lascar Viorel* (1968), *Brâncuși, mit și metamorfoză în sculptură contemporană* (*Brâncuși, Myth and Metamorphosis in Contemporary Sculpture,* 1972). Each of these publications offers a fragmentary history of contemporary Romanian fine art, complete with Comarnescu's well-reasoned, firm, and prudent value assessments of Brâncuși and Ion Țuculescu, which were introduced at the Venice Biennale in 1966.

As in the book *Confluențe ale artei universale* (*Confluences of the Universal Art*, 1966), which successfully combines the synthetic spirit and the analytical exercise, the pleasure of associations, the sobriety and refinement of interpretations, the orality of the exposition, and the elevated style associated with the projection of Romanian values on the background of universal art. In addition to his work as a writer and translator, Comarnescu also produced

significant studies that were published in interwar cultural publications and his meditations on drama, which are included in the 1977 compilation *Scrieri despre teatru* (*Writings on the Theater*). For example, the article *Specificul românesc în cultură și artă* (*The Romanian Specific in Culture and Art*) or *Ideile veacului și spiritualitatea* (*The Ideas of the Century and Spirituality*) is as illustrative as possible of Comarnescu's vocation for synthesis, but also for the subtlety of his analyses, where unusual lexical flourishes, either strong or opulent, polychrome or austere, are threaded throughout the words.

Comarnescu's surprising presence in the Securitate archives, as an assiduous collaborator of the repressive institution, was the starting point of an entire book[9] which brings together informative notes by Petru Comarnescu, selected and commented on by historian Lucian Boia. Under the codename Anton, one of the most brilliant intellectuals of his generation, which also included Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Constantin Noica, he collaborated diligently, continuously, and methodically with the Securitate, most likely in an attempt to persuade the authorities of his allegiance to the communist philosophy and government. It could be said that, given the privileges, material benefits, and positions the writer held, the communist authorities were generous and recognized the quantity and informative quality of Agent Anton's notes. Paradoxically, Comarnescu's informative notes have value and grace in the shaping of synthetic portraits, in meticulous descriptions and evocations with a pronounced affective timbre, his texts forming, Lucian Boia observes, a true "human comedy" of proletarianism:

> Either on request or on his own initiative, Petru Comarnescu discloses everything, most of the time, in a neutral tone; in certain cases, however, when he refers to people he dislikes or who have wronged him, the comments become acidic and the information or insinuations compromising. This is also an outlet for Petru Comarnescu's (acute) social and intellectual frustrations. Here they are, trapped as in an insect, all those who did not give him the importance he deserved! The moral verdict can only be one of guilt; overzealousness cancels out even the mitigating circumstances that could

[9] Lucian Boia, *Dosarele secrete ale agentului Anton. Petru Comarnescu în Arhivele Securității* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2014).

> otherwise have been invoked (the great culprit in all this being the communist regime). But the literary value of many of the pages is unquestionable. Taken together, they form a kind of Human Comedy of the Romanian intellectual and artistic world of the 1950s and 1960s. Petru Comarnescu missed the "great work" of his life. Could Agent Anton have done it?[10]

In a literary review of Comarnescu's *Homo americanus*, Mihail Sebastian praises it as "an excellent, objective and concise study, written with love, of course, but not with bias and especially not with naivety."[11] For his side, G. Călinescu finds the book to be positive, despite some misgivings raised in his assessment: "Petru Comarnescu's impressions of *Homo americanus* are very appealing, very attractive. The author is a well-read and intelligent intellectual who does not fixate."[12] An "explorer of ideas in Romanian publicity,"[13] Petru Comarnescu has clearly contributed to connecting Romanian culture to the values of universality.

The destiny of Petru Comarnescu's "American" books is a winding one because, after an adequate, positive reception, they are perceived with hostility during the period of the Legionary government. Petru Comarnescu is the first Romanian intellectual to discover America, an erudite reporter, a gifted essayist, and a talented thinker with an analytical spirit and an openness to synthesis. On the other hand, when he talks about America, the author often speaks about himself, considering that his American wanderings represent spiritual adventures, returns to his own self, autopsychic exercises, rendered in autobiographical writing, through which the writer confesses, questions himself, justifies himself or problematizes certain ideas, themes, concepts or feelings. The "American" period (1929–1931) was reflected in several books: *Homo americanus* (1933), *America văzută de un tânăr de azi* (1934), later collected in a single book, *Chipurile și priveliștile Americii* (1940). Of

[10] Ibid.

[11] Mihail Sebastian, *Revista Fundațiilor Regale*, no. 7 (1940).

[12] George Călinescu, *Viața literară*, no. 100 (1929). Idem, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1941).

[13] Monica Grosu, *Petru Comarnescu un neliniștit în secolul său* (Bucharest: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2008).

particular interest, for example, are the pages devoted to train stations and train travel, descriptions of stations in various cities, and, above all, his evocation of New York′s Central Station,

> […] an immense labyrinth in which not only your footsteps but also your figure is lost in that chaos bordered by high walls of stone, concrete, and marble […]. Greatness is a blaze, because it is pretentious and ostentatious.[14]

An entire chapter, Traversarea continentului printre lumile Pieilor-Roșii și ale Cowboylor, takes place on the train, with dense, alert, dynamic descriptions of the landscapes:

> At the end of the reading carriage, the observation platform, open like a balcony. I still get to see the last of Chicago′s shabby houses. It was a warm September evening when I first set out for Los Angeles, and from behind the carriage, sitting outside on the platform, I watched the houses and lights fade away and the train drag me through the dark wastes. I soon entered the farmlands of Illinois and every now and then the train cut through the small, brightly lit towns in the center, giving me time to read the same advertisements I found in Boston or the hills of the Midwest, recommending "Coca-Cola" drink, "Palmolive" soap, "Chrysler" automobile, or "Lybbis" canned goods, and to see people coming out of movie theaters and getting into small, worn-out cars. Then, darkness again. The train runs fast and leaves a lot of smoke because it uses coal. Behind the windows, metal screens everywhere, preventing the coal grains from dirtying the immaculate sheets, the grey or green sofas. From the platform, I contemplate a chiaroscuro symphony, which soon becomes unnatural because of the deepening darkness. I think of cowboy movies I saw as a child. It′s like seeing Eddie Polo in these deserts, following the runaway horse to the train, climbing onto the roof and stealing a girl from her fiancé′s arms who had taken refuge on the platform behind.[15]

Attentive to the travelers, the writer watches their behavior, listens to their dialogues, records the topics of discussion:

> Around me they talk. The Americans, when they have nothing to do, talk too. One goes to take a shower. Another leaves the platform to go to the bar. On the open platform a pair of lovers and me remain. Lovers know how to keep quiet, on any world. I can at last watch in silence.[16]

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[14] Comarnescu, *Chipurile și priveliștile Americii*.
[15] Ibid, 153–77.
[16] Ibid.

Comarnescu uses monologues with esthetic and essayistic undertones to track the passing of landscapes: "The landscape changes. We arrive in a mountainous and rocky land. We pass through the Raton Tunnel and descend to the southern western United States. We are well and truly in the Mexican and Indian world. Rugged valleys on either side of the railroad tracks. "Apache Canyon" alternates gray granite with rusty rock. Nature looks like a godlike accident. The grandeur calls me to God." There is no shortage of admiration for the scenery and beauty, punctuated by insightful observations on the meditative spirit:

> True contemplation is different: the lover of beauty forgets all, when he lets himself be enchanted by the sights, living in those moments' eternity. He who truly admires can no longer think of anything else, can no longer conceive of any other beauty that goes beyond his penetration into the object, his participation in the metaphysical spell. The train, however, carries us forward, making the sights that appear and disappear like a shooting star even more precious. The train lures and frustrates aesthetic emotion. The writer Edith Wharton was right when she observed that the motor car has given us back the beauties of nature that the train, with its speed and economy of time, had robbed us of. The motor car can be stopped when you are overcome by the view.[17]

The volumes written by Petru Comarnescu about American culture and civilization have the charm of a proper monograph, the best compilation of knowledge available in our nation. Through an honest, authentic, and objective perception, the author rigorously and interpretively investigates the spirit, culture, way of life, and way of thinking of the New World, America. Petru Comarnescu was a complex individual who embodied the spirit of a generation and was hard to categorize inside a single field during his career.

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[17] Ibid.

Escaping the NS Regime. Rudolf Fränkel, a (Jewish) German Speaking Architect Active in Berlin, Bucharest, the UK, and the USA in the Interwar Era. His Works in Bucharest

Maria Boștenaru Dan

Introduction

For the history of architecture, archival source analysis is crucial. The history of architecture is a discipline by itself, different from the history of art and of architecture. Italy has one of the best-organized archival systems in the world. Some of these archives are connected to digital humanities centers, containing mainly photographic archives. These are connected mainly to the foreign academies, which also offer bursaries for scholars, but also to libraries and museums or even archives. However, drawing archives is also important to studying architectural history. They may display the garden and building blueprints, making the building survey's task more manageable. A project at the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology was dedicated to archive drawings from the times of Gothic, which are UNESCO "Memory of the World"[1] as this is also immaterial heritage. While the authors of the drawings of the Gothic are unknown, for the subject of this paper, architects of the interwar time, they are known. Numerous catalogs provide access to these national Italian archives and archives featuring the representations of other nations in Italy, a place that has drawn numerous students, including those

[1] Gothische Risse https://www.unesco.at/kommunikation/dokumentenerbe/weltdokumentenerbe-in-oesterreich/gotische-baurisse-am-neu, Johann Josef Böker et al, *Architektur der Gotik. Rheinlande* (Salzburg: Müry Salzmann, 2005); Böker et al, *Architektur der Gotik. Ulm und Donauraum* (Salzburg: Müry Salzmann, 2011).

studying architecture, since the Grand Tour. Building authorization plans in Romania can be accessed centrally, arranged thematically, or at the national archive branches of the local government. These are not originals, but lithographs. Original archives of architects often get lost, as was the example of the almost thrown-away archive of Harry Goldstein/Horia Maicu, a Jewish architect who studied in Italy.[2] Other architects' archives went lost when they emigrated from Romania, fleeing Communism or Nazism. It is the case of the Janco brothers or of Richard Bordenache, for example. All these are examples of interwar architects. In other cases, however, the archive is preserved: for Horia Creangă, Henrietta Delavrancea-Gibory, and Virginia Haret-Andreescu.

A part of the history of architecture is the history of construction (Baugeschichte, as it was long called in German-speaking space). A series of conferences is dedicated to this.[3] The history of construction can be considered history of technology/of science, and it may encompass topics like the worthiness of preservation and protection through monument listing of engineering works because of their unique structural solution, a topic otherwise little researched. Recently, the MAXXI Museum of Art and Architecture in the twenty-first century dedicated two exhibitions to such topics, the most important one being called Technoscape, the architecture of engineers. But other topics like acoustic performance and soundscape may be its subject.

This paper is about an architect educated in the German-speaking space and as such, it is important to know the history of the profession in this space. Architecture degrees are awarded in Germany as engineering degrees by Polytechniques. Pfammatter[4] wrote about the history or architecture education in German-speaking space and Tschanz[5] provided an overview of the particular case of the ETH Zuerich. Also, the case of Karlsruhe, the

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2 Dorothee Hasnaș, ed., *Goldstein Maicu. Vilele moderne. Constanța. 1931–1940*, (Bucharest: Editura Universitară "Ion Mincu," 2022).

3 2024 the eighth in Zürich: https://8icch.ethz.ch/about.html.

4 Ulrich Pfammatter, *Die Erfindung des modernen Architekten: Polytechnische und industrielle Ausbildung für Architekten und Ingenieure – ein Kapitel Baugeschichte* (Zürich: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1997).

5 Martin Tschanz, *Die Bauschule am Eidgenössischen Polytechnikum in Zürich* (Zürich: gta Verlag, 2015).

oldest architecture education institution in Germany, is covered along with the further history of the university by Hoepke.[6] The Polytechnic of Karlsruhe started as the merger of the architecture school of Weinbrenner – a contemporary of Goethe who also went on Grand Tour, to learn in Italy, before designing the city of Karlsruhe – with the engineering school of Tulla. The Polytechnic in Charlottenburg, where Rudolf Fränkel studied, was home to other engineers who practiced in Romania, such as Eliza Leonida Zamfirescu. Unlike Karlsruhe, which has only an archive of the university, Charlottenburg also has a museum[7] highlighting the history of architectural education. Architecture in museum/Museum of architecture was actually the topic of a session at the First Conference of the European Architectural History Network held in Guimaraes, Portugal, in June 2010 and convened by Alexis Sornin, head of the Study Center at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, when this research on Rudolf Fränkel was done. In fact, the Canadian Centre for Architecture is also an architecture museum with a research component, like the MAXXI in Rome, also having an archive function for the study, like the ones in Berlin and Rome. In Bucharest, at the "Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urbanism,[8] there is a similar museum, while other universities in the capital (the University of Bucharest recently had a temporary exhibition on education in veterinary medicine like there is a museum of such in Budapest) and in the country have some. Designing a museum of education is a complex endeavor which is present in few places, one being, for example, the one in Dordrecht. In Bucharest, the museum of the Polytechnic, where architecture education was housed for a while, can be connected to the Museum of Technique, in course of receiving a new architectural solution, which was designed by Dimitrie Leonida, the brother of the above-named Eliza Leonida Zamfirescu, following the model of *Deutsches Museum* in Munich, so also a German model.

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[6] Hoepke, Klaus-Peter, *Geschichte der Fridericiana. Stationen in der Geschichte der Universität Karlsruhe (TH) von der Gründung 1825 bis zum Jahr 2000* (Karlsruhe: Universitätsverlag Karlsruhe, 2007) DOI: 10.5445/KSP/1000006996.

[7] https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=54.

[8] https://centrulexpo.uauim.ro/ro/.

Materials and Methods

Both archival collections, original drawings at the Canadian Centre for Architecture and lithographs at the archives of the city hall in Bucharest, were researched. In addition, a literature review was performed. The buildings were studied on the field and mapped. This concerned not only the buildings designed by Rudolf Frankel were studied, but also those connected to the life of Rudolf Fränkel. This is in line with what is envisaged by an association in Berlin "Society of the Research of the Life and Work of German-Speaking Jewish Architects." So far, this is not very widespread in architecture in other disciplines of life besides the work being more present. As such, the place where Rudolf Fränkel studied was visited (Fig. 1). Important archive documents are also at the Miami (OH) University, where he taught, and some isolated ones in different places, including German construction archives (Brown-Manrique, 2009).



Fig. 1. The central historical building of the Technical University Charlottenburg, where Fränkel studied. Photo: the author, 2022.

Results

Rudolf Fränkel could not sign himself the works in Bucharest, being trained in Germany and not Romania. Several other architects signed for his buildings. The paternity of his works can be established through the fact that the archive of original drawings (not lithographs like in the building permit requests) and photos by Max Krajewski is available at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal. This was not the case for the Janco brothers, where only Marcel Janco signed, as the archive is not preserved. The Janco case is similar to a certain extent because the brothers were trained in the German-speaking space and were also Jewish, escaping the Nazi regime when it reached Romania. This is why archive preservation is important.

From being educated as an architect, Rudolf Fränkel became an educator himself, establishing urban planning teaching in the USA in Cincinnati (Fig. 2). The first urban planning course was in Germany, at another Polytechnique with history, the one in Aachen. Another influential one was Stuebben, the chief city planner of Cologne. One of the emblematic buildings of Fränkel himself is Atlantic City in Berlin, a Siedlung.[9] So, it is not by chance that Fränkel, educated and first practicing in Germany, became one of the first teachers of urban planning in the USA, where the first course was established at Harvard University in 1924. Postmortem Rudolf Fränkel was named professor emeritus, and since then, in 2006, an award was given in his memory to students who show proficiency with community or urban design. Gerardo Brown-Manrique was given after this a grant to write a book about the architectural works of Rudolf Fränkel in Germany, Romania, and the UK, and, during this, the author met him in Bucharest at an exhibition dedicated to Fränkel, also showing the restoration of Atlantic city Berlin.[10]

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9 Gerwin Zohlen, ed., *Rudolf Fränkel, die Gartenstadt Atlantic und Berlin* (Sulgen: Verlag Niggli AG, 2006).

10 https://e-zeppelin.ro/en/rudolf-frankels-urban-architecture/



Fig. 2. View of a historic early post-war building in Cincinnati: Cincinnati Music Hall (1878). Photo: Ciprian Buzila 2017, kindly provided.

Discussion

Rudolf Fränkel co-authored a block of flats with Horia Creangă, who also worked with Haralamb Georgescu. Haralamb Georgescu was by then a young architect who later fled the Communist regime established in postwar time and came to be an acclaimed architect in the USA[11]. This block of flats (Fig. 3) is situated at an intersection featuring another two buildings of Rudolf Fränkel. Fig. 4–9 show different archive records of building permit applications for buildings designed by Fränkel but signed by other architects. Not always the same one signed. Fig. 6 presents the architect′s own apartment, discussed by the author in detail[12] and also presented by Mihaela Pelteacu.[13]

[11] Corneliu Ghenciulescu, *Haralamb H. (Bubi) Georgescu, a Romanian Architect in the USA/un arhitect român în SUA* (Bucharest: Editura Universitară "Ion Mincu," 2008).

[12] Maria Bostenaru Dan, "Rudolf Fränkels Bukarest Spurensuche in den Archiven von Bukarest und Montreal," in *Osteuropäische Moderne – Beiträge jüdischer Architekten und Architektinnen*,



Fig. 3. "Adriatica" office building (1937) in Bucharest. A first project, as the archive records show, was done by a different architect than the one signing the final project, both different from Fränkel. Archive records from Bucharest city hall.

ed. Jörg H. Gleiter, Günter Schlusche, and Ines Sonder (Berlin: Universitätsverlag der TU Berlin, 2022), 33–44, DOI 10.14279/depositonce-15860.

[13] Mihaela Pelteacu, "Locuință-birou în București. Apartamentul arhitectului Rudolf Fränkel," *Arhitectura* 3 (2019).

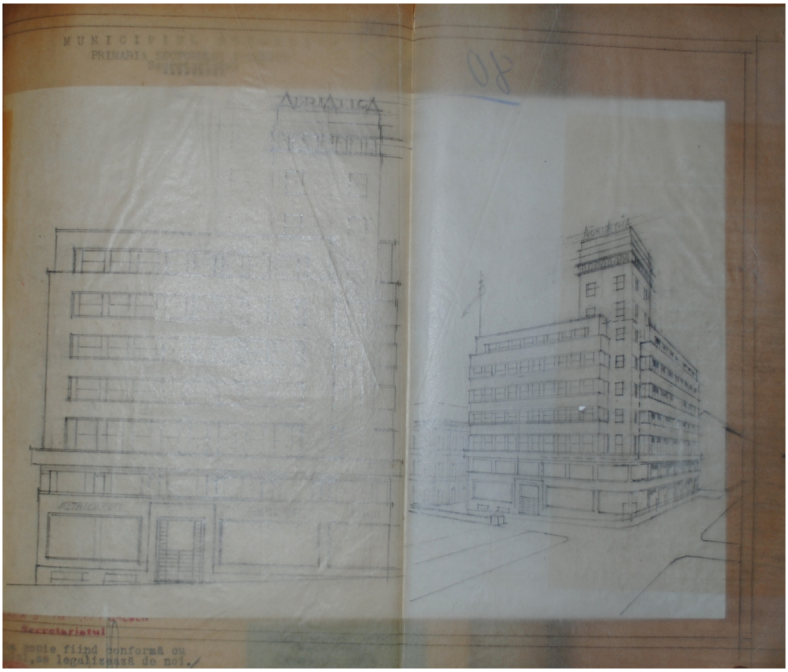


Fig. 4. "Adriatica" office building, drawings in the building permit archive records at Bucharest city hall. The archive at the CCA has only period photographs by Max Krajewski, no drawings.

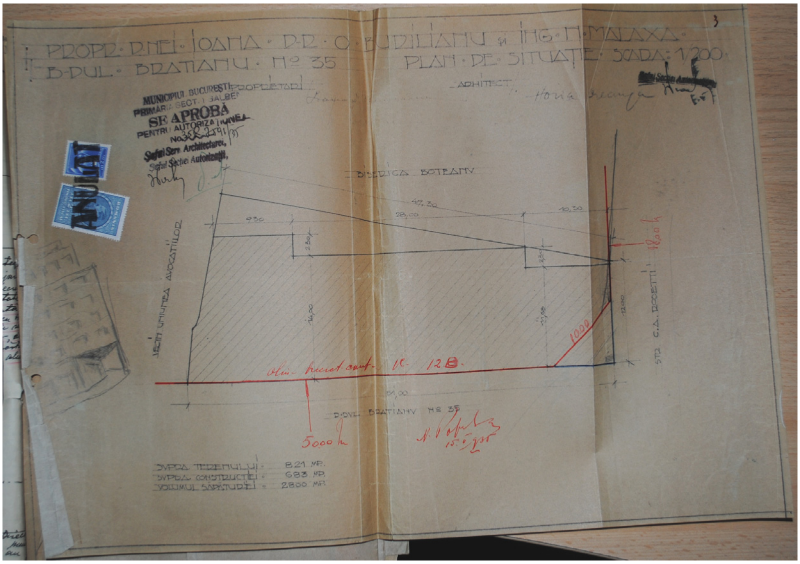
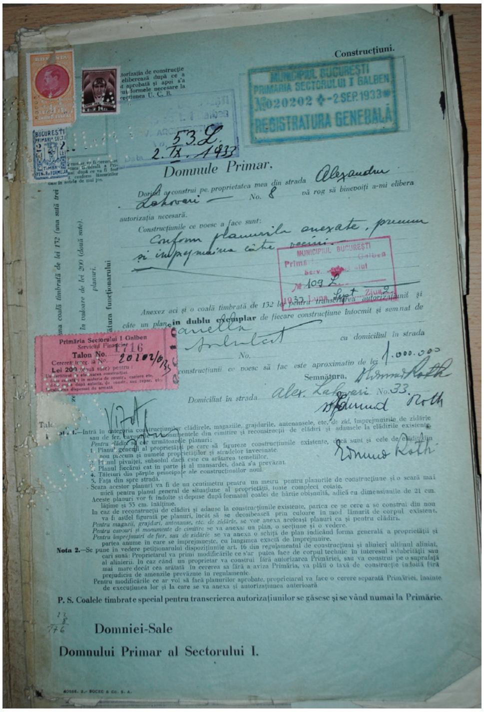


Fig. 5. Malaxa Burileanu block of flats (1937) in Bucharest, by Horia Creangă and also co-authored with Fränkel. Archive record from Bucharest city hall. The photograph of Max Krajewski in the CCA archive is a testimony of this.



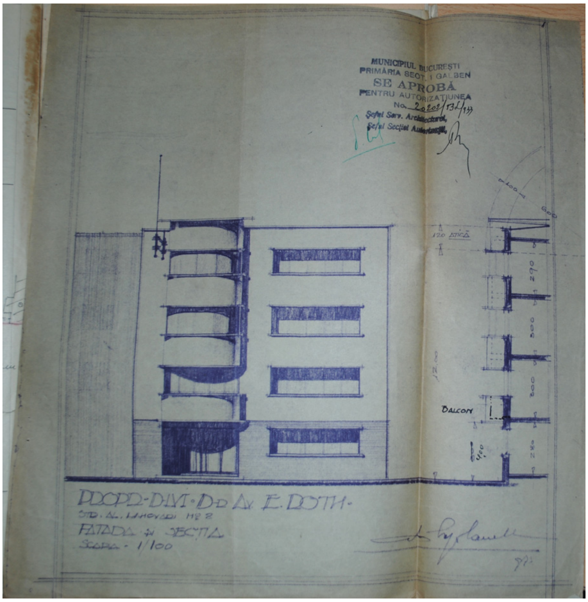
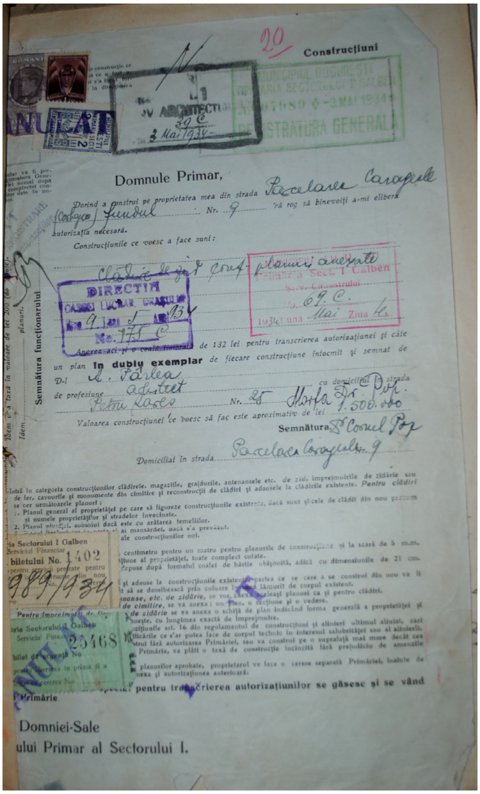


Fig. 6–7. "Roth" block of flats (1933). The CCA archive includes a plan of the day time zone of the architect's own flat, as well as interior photographs from different places by Max Krajewski showing this, together with the drawn furniture. For example, for the desks in the office part, there is a drawing of the view in the same archive. The drawings are on so-called "foiță."



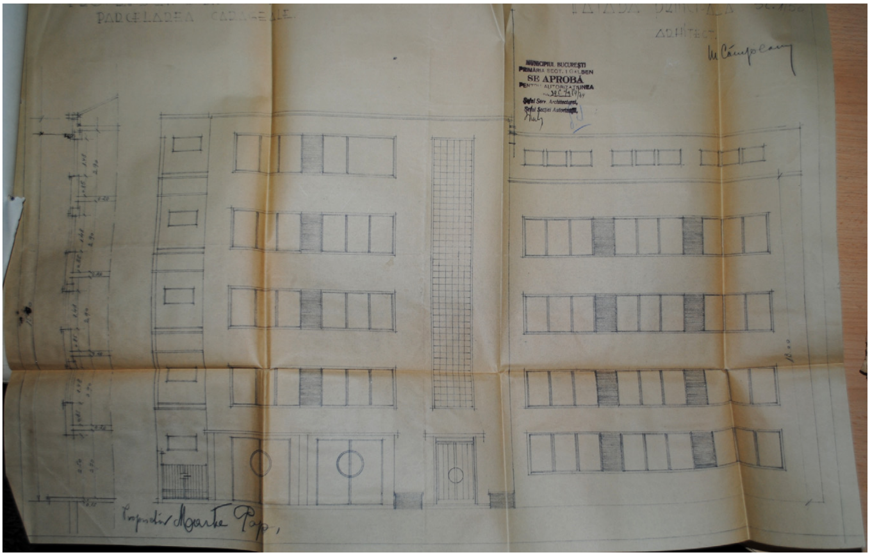
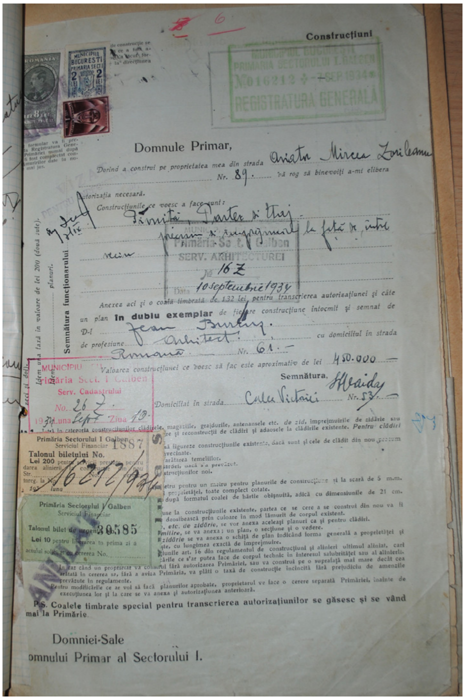


Fig. 8. Similarly to the "Roth" building, for the "Pop" building (1934), the CCA archive contains drawings of plans, together with furniture, for both the day and the night zone. This way, the paternity of the building can be identified using archive research.



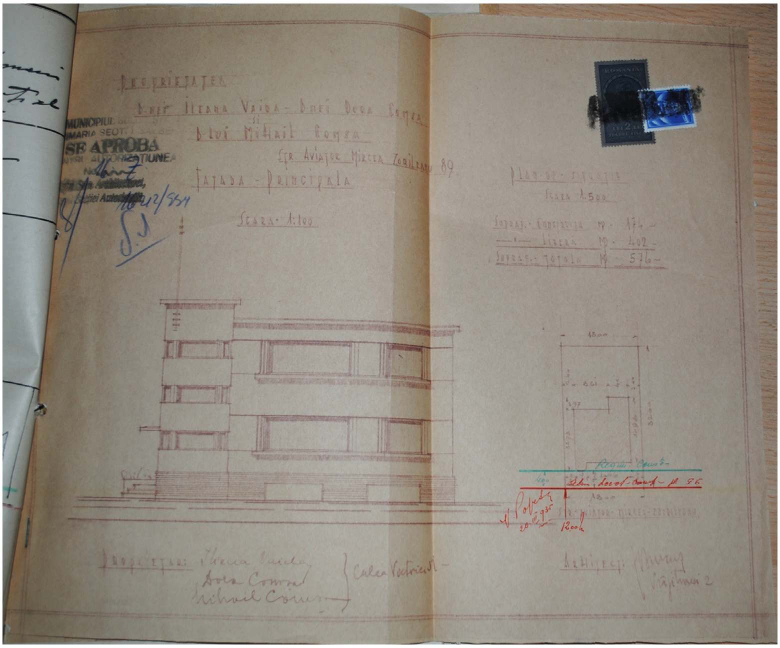


Fig. 9. For the "Vaida-Comsa" building on "Zorileanu" street, the CCA archive contains drawings signed by Fraenkel of interior views in section with furniture, in colored pencil. Here: archive records at Bucharest city hall of the building permit application, signed by a different architect.

The history of other professions is better researched than the history of urban planning. In Europe, it was mainly established with the 1755 Lisbon earthquake by Marques de Pombal and in Romania by Cincinat Sfintescu.[14] The project about his life and work acknowledges the above-named Museum of the Polytechnic of Bucharest. The first in the USA is not so well established as for landscape architecture, Frederick Law Olmsted. For these newer professions, the establishing of the profession is in modern times, and the first courses at universities many times in the interwar period. Rudolf Fränkel went to the USA in 1950. It was the time when new towns were built there, following a European model. The sociology of professions[15] is by itself new, and the code of occupations, present also in Romania[16] and at European level,[17] recognized new professions relatively late in the twenty-first century. In the German-speaking space, the profession titles are protected to different degrees. In Switzerland, where the Janco brothers studied, the title "architect" is not protected. In Germany, where Rudolf Fränkel studied, the title is protected. The university degree after an architecture study is diploma engineer, and "architect" is a title given by the architect's chamber after at least two years of practice. Many federal chambers still recognize the alternate path of eight-ten years of practice without a university degree. In the history of architecture, there were several notable architects who did not graduate from the university, such as Marcel Janco, but also Frank Lloyd Wright, Louis Sullivan, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Buckminster Fuller, Luis Barragan, Carlo Scarpa, Tadao Ando, Peter Zumthor and others. In Romania, the title stays after the studies, but since 2002, for the signature right on projects, a practice of at least two years in an architecture office under supervision is needed after the studies. This is what we researched:

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[14] https://www.sfintescu.ro/ro/cincinat-sfintescu/.

[15] Baird, C. Timothy, and Bonj Szczygiel, "Sociology of Professions: The Evolution of Landscape Architecture in the United States." *Landscape Review* 12, no. 1 (2007): 3–25, https://doi.org/10.34900/lr.v12i1.252.

[16] https://mmuncii.ro/j33/index.php/ro/2014-domenii/munca/c-o-r.

[17] https://esco.ec.europa.eu/en/classification/occupation_main.

the signature on the plans. The study of the legislation at interwar time is still subject of further research.

The interwar time saw not only the emergence of new professions, given more professionalization and subdivision into fields of what was previously covered by one profession, but also pioneer women. In a network in which the author is part, the COST action CA19112 "Women on the Move," in the database on landmarks dedicated to migrant women, also the profession according to the ESCO codes, was included. An article about this is in review.

Conclusions

Archive study is an important means in the history of architecture research. Rudolf Fränkel and the collection of his building drawings, as well as photographs of his buildings, are included in the references of the German-funded project, together with the German Historical Institute in Washington, "Transatlantic perspectives," which seeks to see Europe in the eyes of European immigrants to the United States.[18]

This research was funded by UEFISCDI, grant number PN-III-P4-PCE-2021–0609. Previous archive research was funded by a Canadian Center for Architecture support grant in 2010.

[18] https://www.transatlanticperspectives.org/ecms-references/fraenkel-rudolf-rudolf-fraenkel-collection-canadian-center-for-architecture-montreal-quebec-canada/.

The Transatlantic Artistic Route. Brâncuși's Works from New York at the Venice Biennale Thirtieth Edition*

Roxana Mihaly

The works of artists have long been seen as moments of convergence when ideas have come together, frequently reflecting a group of ideas that provided context for a whole historical period. After becoming well-known in the Parisian art scene at the start of the 20th century, young sculptor Constantin Brâncuși progressively started to pave his path to success on the other side of the ocean.[1] Brâncuși's opportunity to exhibit in the United States of America was possible due to his neighbor from Paris, the American painter Walter Pach, who was among the first international exhibitions of modern art in New York main organizers *International Exhibition of Modern Art – The Armory Show* in 1913.[2] The European sculptures exhibited in the H Gallery,[3] including those by Brâncuși, amounting to five (*Muza adormită*, *Domnișoara Pogany*, *Sărutul, Muză*, and *Bust de fată*[4]), attracted major American collectors' interest, being rapidly sold.

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[1] Petru Comarnescu, *Brâncuși: mit și metamorfoză în sculptura contemporană* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1972), 184.

[2] Sanda Miller, *Mari personalități. Brâncuși* (Bucharest: Litera, 2022), 112.

[3] Laurette E McCarthy, *Walter Pach (1883–1958): The Armory Show and the Untold Story of Modern Art in America* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2012), 48.

[4] This paper will use the official names for artworks, according to Brâncuși's preferences.

After the 1913 participation in the great hall of the New York 69th Infantry Regiment on Lexington[5] at the first modern art international exhibition in New York, the fame of Brâncuși's works spread even more after his famous 1926 trial against the United States when his work *Bird in Space* it was classified by US customs as kitchen utensils and medical equipment, with no sign of a *bird*, therefore the artist's work would be taxed at 235 dollars.[6] Following this episode, contemporary newspapers showed increasing interest and began publishing images of his works alongside critical texts under titles that awakened the American public's interest.[7] The subsequent image campaign, followed by the exhibition at the Brummer Gallery in New York and the ensuing winning of the lawsuit, aroused the attraction at that time of art galleries and collectors, this being one of the episodes that perhaps involuntarily contributed to some extent to the artist's fame. The innovation that Constantin Brâncuși brought to sculpture paved the way for modern sculpture since its beginnings.[8] His works, regardless of the period when they were created, garner both artistic and documentary interest, his style evolving profoundly throughout his career, moving from an aesthetic influenced by realism to an approach to the essence of form. Fluid lines, abstract shapes, and a simplified essence characterize several Brâncuși works. He pioneered abstraction in sculpture, discarding unnecessary details and focusing on his subject's essence. Brâncuși's sculptures not only reflect an exceptional technical mastery but also a deep connection with spiritual and cultural aspects. He sought to express his subject's inner essence and communicate transcendent simplicity through his forms. Inevitably, through his innovative approach, Brâncuși opened new directions in the art of sculpture, subsequently influencing generations of artists.

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5 Lunday Elizabeth, *Modern Art Invasion: Picasso Duchamp and the 1913 Armory Show That Scandalized America* (Guilford, Lyons Press, 2013), 40–41.

6 Rowell Margit Paleologue André and Francesca Rose, *Brancusi Vs. United States the Historical Trial 1928*. 2003 (Paris: Adam Biro, 2003), 43.

7 "How They Know It's "A Bird" and Are Sure It is "Art," *The American*, March 13, 1927; "Don't laugh now. This is art with capital A," *The American* 1927; "Under US law, works of art at the time could enter the US duty-free," *The American* 1927.

8 Comarnescu," *Brâncuși,*"16.

Even though the Romanian state did not show an interest in Brâncuși's works, especially in the 1950s, three years after his death in 1957, the thirtieth edition of the Venice Biennale organizers[9] decided to dedicate a retrospective exhibition to him in the central building alongside several other important artists: the German painter Kurt Schwitters, the architect Erich Mendelsohn, the painter Luigi Spazzapan and Renato Birolli.[10] The room dedicated to Constantin Brâncuși in the Central Pavilion of the Giardini della Biennale was to be managed by the committee comprising the writer and art critic Jean Cassou, the art historian Carola Gierdion Welcker, the art critic Giuseppe Marchiori, and the American curator and writer James Johnson Sweenty,[11] who initially proposed a selection of the twenty-five works by the artist, but eventually the organizers could gather less than half of this selection, most collectors refusing to participate in the exhibition under the pretext of the works' sensitivity in case of transport.

Historically, the first international art exhibition in Venice took place in 1895, this being organized to mark a quarter of a century since the marriage of King Umberto I to Margaret of Savoy, followed two years later by the international stature art event receiving the name of "Biennale."[12]

The 1960 retrospective exhibition in Venice (Fig. 1) dedicated to the great artist Constantin Brâncuși (Fig. 2) is less known among Brâncuși experts, being almost forgotten or too little known considering its non-mention in

[9] *A.S.A.C, fondo Padiglioni, atti 1938–1968* (series "Paesi"), file no. 24. Romania's first participation in the Biennale took place in 1903 with the participation of the sculptor Fritz Storck, who later managed to participate in 1907 with two sculptures. This episode was followed by an absence of seventeen years. Romanian artists succeeding in presenting their works at the Venice Biennale in 1924. After the Romanian visual artists' collective participation in the fourteenth edition of the Venice Biennale, we are witnessing another fourteen-year absence of Romania's presence at one of the most important art exhibitions in the world until 1938, the year Romania managed to have its own pavilion. Romania's participation in the Biennale, as in the case of other countries at this time, was interrupted due to the war and resumed only in 1954.

[10] *Archivio storico delle arti contemporanee. Esposizione Internazionale d'arte La Biennale di Venezia: 1895–2019, Venezia 2019* (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia, 2019), 187–90.

[11] Ibid, 187.

[12] Enzo di Martino, *La Biennale di Venezia 1895–2013: 1895–2013: arti visive, architettura, cinema, danza, musica, teatro* (Venice: Papiro art, 2013), 10–14.

the art albums devoted to the great artist. From the Venice Biennale Historical Archive dedicated to Brâncuși, it appears that, after lengthy negotiations with the artist's works owners, it was possible to bring ten sculptures to the Venice exhibition, most from private collections in New York, only one from Romania, while another originated from a private collection in Paris. Over time, the Venice Biennale has evolved into a reference event in the global cultural agenda. At each edition, the event featured innovative and challenging contemporary artworks, but it also always played a crucial role in promoting cultural dialogue between artists, art critics, curators, and the general public.

Consequently, in realizing the thirtieth edition, the Venice Biennale special commissioner, Giovanni Ponti,[13] insisted and carried out lengthy negotiations to bring some of the most important sculptures of the artist Constantin Brâncuși to the exhibition. Initially, the exhibition organizers selected several twenty-three sculptures by the artist, but of these, they managed to bring to the Biennale less than half, as they were not selected based on the existing works in Brâncuși's workshop in Paris. The next step in this entire process was the creation of a Special Committee dedicated to Brâncuși's work retrospective exhibition at the International Biennale Exhibition of Art in 1960. This committee would also include the director James Johnson Sweney from The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York, the art historian Carola Giedion-Welcker. Another important aspect that emerges from all this correspondence kept in the Historical Archive of the Venice Biennale is the fact that initially, the exhibition was thought by the organizers since 1956 for the twenty-ninth edition (1958), but for various reasons, this idea was abandoned. The initiative for the first attempt to organize the exhibition aimed to bring the works in the possession of the collection of Yolanda P. Matarazzo in São Paulo or Alexandre Istrati in France to Venice, in addition to those in the galleries and in the possession of collectors in the United States of America. But it seems that, after lengthy negotiations with the artist's works owners, the organizers discarded the

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[13] *Archivio storico delle arti contemporanee. Esposizione Internazionale d'arte La Biennale di Venezia: 1895–2019, Venezia 2019*, 187.

idea of a Brâncuși exhibition for the 1958 edition and returned to it for a later edition, probably reinforced by the artist's death in 1957.

Returning to the thread of correspondence between organizers and collectors, in the case of the sculpture *Wisdom of the Earth*, located in Romania, the negotiations began with the diplomatic mission of Romania in Italy.

On April 4, 1960, Commissioner Ponti wrote to His Excellency Ștefan Cleja, the Extraordinary Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of Romania in Italy:

> On this occasion, the Biennale aims to pay tribute to one of modern art's most important artists, by presenting a rigorous selection of works by their quality, and for which we must therefore ensure the invaluable contribution of all those who own the artist's most important works. For this reason, we forward a request to the National Museum of Bucharest to grant us the loan of the work „*Wisdom of the Earth*" (1908).[14]

Later in his letter, the Biennale commissioner, Giovanni Ponti, asked E.S. Ștefan Cleja to intervene with the Museum management on his request for the best examination since the work was indispensable for the retrospective exhibition in Venice to be deemed worthy of Brâncuși's artistic value.

Romania's representatives at the Legation in Italy immediately responded positively through a telegram to the Venice international exhibition organizers' request, saying they were delighted with the invitation. Thus, after about a month of negotiations carried out through the Romanian Legation in Rome, the Bucharest Art Museum agreed to send Brâncuși's sculpture to Venice.

Consequently, the Biennale organizer, Umbro Apollonio, wrote the following to the cultural advisor at the Romanian Legation in Italy:

> I learned with great pleasure that Romania decided to participate in the thirtieth edition of the Biennale, and I received other confirmations about the loan of *"Wisdom of the Earth"* by Brâncuși.[15]

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[14] "La Biennale, A.S.A.C, Arti visive, Esposizioni biennali, mostre storiche e speciali, retrospettive e personali," file no. 91, *The Historical Archive of Contemporary Arts (ASAC)*.
[15] Ibid.

Negotiations on creating a retrospective exhibition with Brâncuși's most important works continued with Helene Rubinstein company representatives for the loan of a sculpture located in Paris. The commissioner of the biennale, Giovanni Ponti, received the following reply to his letter of May 30, 1960, on June 7:

> We refer to your letter of May 30, 1960. We have forwarded your request to Kadese Rubinstein and regret to inform you that he does not agree to the loan of "Brâncuși's bird." Besides, as I already told you, the sculpture is still under repair.[16]

Shortly after the response received from the Rubinstein representatives, biennale commissioner Giovanni Ponti replied with a letter that he had been informed about the acceptance to lend Brâncuși's work *L'oiseau,* but at the same time, he was worried that the sculpture would not arrive at the exhibition on time, considering that the "preview" was to take place on June 14–15–16, 1960, and the official inauguration that occurred on the 18th in the presence of the President of the Republic, Giovanni Gronchi.

> We need to know if the restoration work can be completed before June 10, but not later. We rely on your kindness to be interested in being able to send the work to Venice as soon as possible, in the fastest way, by contacting the *Maison d'Expéditions La Rauchernye* in Paris.[17]

Following the thread of the negotiations to set up the 1960 Venice exhibition, perhaps one of the most important after the artist's death, we arrive at one of Brâncuși's greatest promoters and collectors, Marcel Duchamp. As in previous cases, the correspondence on the request for a work in his possession begins on April 26 when the Venice Biennale commissioner addresses the first letter to him:

> Among the works destined to figure in the exhibition is included also the following one in your possession *La jeune fille Sophistiquée* (1925).[18]

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16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

Following this request, on May 11, 1960, Marcel Duchamp regretfully replied to Giovanni Ponti:

> I regret that due to the great fragility of this unique wood piece, I have decided never to loan it outside the city of New York. I am very sorry not to be able to help you and I hope you will understand.[19]

Even if the negotiations with Duchamp did not go very well, and his involvement with the Brâncuși exhibition in Venice would have given greater value to the project, the negotiations continued, and the Biennale organizers also extended the invitation to contribute to the exhibition to the director of the Albright Art Gallery in New York, Gordon Mackintosh Smith when, in a letter addressed to him on April 2, he requested the sculpture *Mademoiselle Pogany*:

> We are sure you will be so kind as to give us your cooperation in allowing us the loan of the work in question, thus contributing to the prestige of the organization of the "Biennale," in carrying out those cultural and informational aims it has so far followed through a long series of events. I shall be grateful therefore if you will kindly let us have your consent as soon as possible, and return, duly filled in, the accompanying form, together, if possible, with photo of the work.

In the commissioner's letter to the director of the Gallery, Gordon Mackintosh Smith, he informed him that all expenses related to packaging, transport, insurance will be borne by the Biennale:

> I inform you that the forwarding agent we have entrusted with the carrying out of all the operations connected with the transport, is the Hudson Shipping Co. Inc. of New York. I beg to point out that 12 of the works must be in Venice before the 15th of May, because the press show of the XXX Biennale has been fixed for the 14th of June. The exhibition will be closed at the end of October, and the works lent by private collectors or museums will be shipped at the earliest after the closing of the Biennale.

On April 26, 1960, the New York gallery director, Mr. Smith would follow up on the invitation to lend *Mademoiselle Pogany*,

[19] Ibid.

> I sent you a night letter cable today as follows:
>
> "Delighted lend Brancusi. Mailing form and photograph."
>
> We have completed the form and are enclosing it herewith, together with a photograph of the sculpture and our bill for the latter. We have noted your shipping instructions, and will forward the Brancusi to Hudson Shipping Co., Inc., New York, just as soon as our shipping department can pack it. We are insuring it under our policy and will bill you on a prorate basis for the premium. This is our customary procedure, and I hope the arrangement will meet with your approval.
>
> I am very happy that my committee was willing to lend the Brancusi for this important exhibition, and I send you all good wishes for the success of the show.
>
> Sincerely yours, Gordon M. Smith, Director[20]

Three other important sculptures by Brâncuși were requested on loan from The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York, to which, following the request received in May 1960 from the art critic Umbro Apollonio, responded positively. On May 12, 1960, the museum's director, James Johnson Sweeney, answered enthusiastically to him, stating that the committee had voted favorably to loan three sculptures by Brâncuși to the Venice Biennale.

Immediately after the museum committee's vote, James Johnson Sweeney sent the following telegram (Fig. 3) to Venice on May 12, 1960:

> "GUGGENHEIM TRUSTEES APPROVE LOAN OF THREE BRANCUSI SCULPTURES TO MEMORIAL EXHIBITION VENICE BIENNALE: BOUDDHA STOP ADAM AND EVE STOP PORTRAIT OF GEORGE MARBLE LETTER FOLLOWS."[21]
>
> It was felt that the Sorceress was too delicate to risk transporting and the Committee decided that they would be happy to replace it with the Portrait of George in marble, which has never been exhibited in Europe. This is the portrait of the son of Madame Percival Farquhar, who was reputedly the model for the original *Mademoiselle Pogany*.[22]

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

He also told him that he had a telephone conversation with Mr. Gordon Smith from the Albright Gallery in Buffalo immediately after receiving the letter on April 29, by which he confirmed to him that he had agreed to lend Brâncuși's work in his possession. He also recounted the fact that he had a telephone conversation with Mrs. Duchamp, who explained to him that, unfortunately, he could not accept the invitation given the fragility of the work.

> On calling Mr. Staempfli on receipt of your letter of April 29th, he advised me that he had already written you to the effect that they had agreed to loan you the two sculptures and that they were about to be dispatched.[23]

As James Johnson Sweeney recounted in his letter to the organizers of the Venice Biennale, Mr. Staempfli from the Taempfli Gallery in New York also agreed to the loan of two works, namely: *Torse de Jeune Homme* (1925) and *Caryatide* (1915). In his letter, Mr. Staempfli also complains that the last time he lent *Caryatide* to an exhibition in Germany in Kassel, it was placed upside down because they smeared it with black paint when they painted the plinth. The same with *Torse de Jeune Homme*, Mr. Staempfli recounted to Apollonio that he had problems when he lent it to "Fifty Years of Modern Art" in Brussels,

> […] the stone part was chipped, and I had to have a new one made:
>
> I am mentioning these things in the hope that these sculptures will be treated with great care and special consideration in Venice.[24]

Nevertheless, George W. Staempfli, hoping that the two works by Brâncuși in his gallery will be treated well, decided that it is important that they be present in the exhibition, and even more than that, he also chose to participate in the preview of the Venice Biennale's thirtieth edition:

> I have decided to lend you the two pieces you request, namely "Torse de Jeune Homme" and "Caryatide," in the knowledge that you will personally do your very best to ensure their safety. Attached to this letter are the loan

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

> agreements, as well as photographs of both pieces. Professor Ponti's letter says that they should be in Venice by the 15th of May. This seems very unlikely to me, because your letter has only reached me today. Nevertheless, I shall immediately contact Hudson Shipping Company here in New York in the hope of wasting as little time as possible.
>
> It is my intention to come to the opening of the Biennale in Venice, and I expect to arrive a few days before the actual opening. I would be very grateful to you if you could send me here as soon as possible invitations for all the functions and previews connected with the opening of the Biennale.[25]

In all this context, The Art Institute of Chicago, through a letter received in response to the Biennale organizers on April 5, 1960, categorically refused the organizers' request to borrow the sculpture *Leda* (1923), motivating that it "has been broken twice in transit and the trustees have ruled that it may never again be lent."[26] Another response came from The Museum of Modern Art in New York, which, on the same grounds, refused to send the work *Fish in gray* (1930). The correspondence regarding the request for the works also continues with the Philadelphia Museum of Art, where the Venice organizers address the director Mr. Henry Marceau requesting the works *Le nouveau nò* (1915), *Le baiser* (1908) in stone, *La chimère* (1915/18) in wood, but even in this case the museum management refused to send the works to Venice.

After almost half of the Biennale organizers' requests were refused in the case of works *Princesse* (1916) in marble and *Torse de jeune fille* (1918) in the possession of Henri-Pierre Roché's widow[27], Roché Denise, the organizers of the Biennale receive a positive response. After a series of negotiations regarding the loan of the works, Madame Roché would consent on the condition of a substantial insurance payment for them of fifty and forty million old francs, respectively. Umbro Apollonio had asked initially for three works apart from the two mentioned, the third being *Le commencement du*

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Henri-Pierre Roché (May 28, 1879 – April 9, 1959) was a French writer closely associated with the avant-garde art scene in Paris and a prominent figure in the Dada movement.

monde (1924), but it is not even stated afterward as having been lent. Another condition imposed by the lady was that the name of Roché should not appear in any catalog or label to simply mention "private collection."[28]

The transatlantic artistic route of Constantin Brâncuși's works from New York to the Venice Biennale's thirtieth edition represents a fascinating chronicle of the negotiations, collaborations, and efforts made to bring the Romanian sculptor's masterpieces into the international light of modern art. From the first loan steps to the moment when the works finally arrived in Venice, it was a marked journey, as well as the efforts made by the artist for the recognition of the value of his works. Despite some refusals from some institutions and collectors, numerous works signed by Brâncuși were brought together for this exceptional retrospective, thus marking the series of retrospective exhibitions dedicated to the artist after his passing. The fact that the artist's works traveled such great distances and were brought into the spotlight of the Venice Biennale is once again proof not only of the importance of the artist and his work but also of the collective efforts of the event organizers.

The retrospective exhibition at the 1960 Venice Biennale thus represented not only an important moment in the history of modern art but also a celebration of Brâncuși's extraordinary contribution to the evolution of sculpture and the redefinition of artistic aesthetics. His work, regardless of where and when it was created, remains a testament to his genius and innovation and continues to inspire and impress artists and art lovers worldwide.

[28] Ibid.

Illustrations

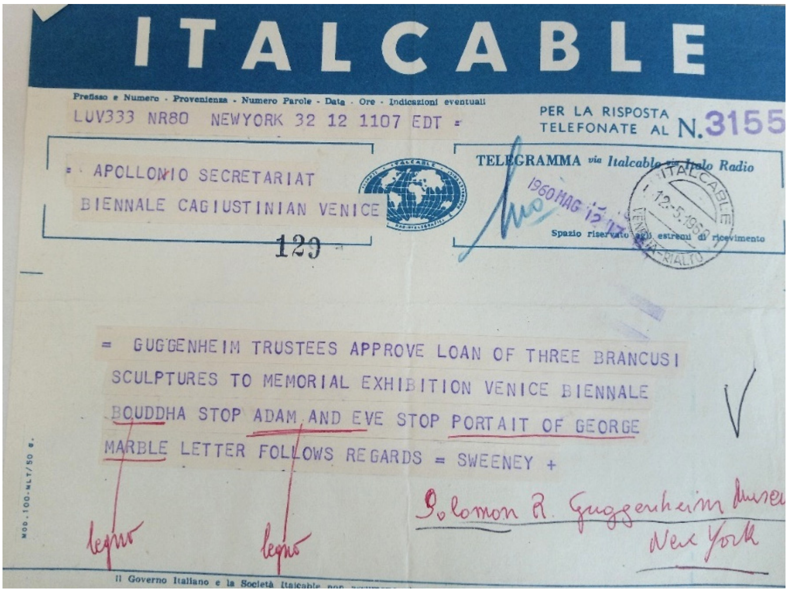


Fig. 1. Venice Biennale thirtieth edition. Poster.[29]

[29] "30. Biennale Internazionale d'Arte," *ASACdati*, https://asac.labiennale.org/attivita/arti-visive/annali?anno=1960.



Fig. 2. The Brâncuși exhibition at the thirtieth Venice Biennale edition.



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BOUDDHA STOP ADAM AND EVE STOP PORTAIT OF GEORGE
MARBLE LETTER FOLLOWS REGARDS = SWEENEY +

Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
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Il Governo Italiano e la Società Italcable non ...

Fig. 3. Telegram from the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum confirming participation approval for the thirtieth edition of the Biennial.[30]

[30] "La Biennale," *The Historical Archive of Contemporary Arts (ASAC), Arti visive, Esposizioni biennali, mostre storiche e speciali, retrospettive e personali*, file no. 91.

Lost/Rediscovered Artworks. Values of the Romanian cultural heritage at *the New York World's Fair* 1939–1940

Eduard Andrei

The New York World's Fair, organized under the unifying theme "The World of Tomorrow," was hosted in Flushing Meadows – Corona Park, Queens, and stayed open between April 30, 1939, and October 27, 1940. The participation of Romania in this global and grandiose event had been approved, at the highest level, by the Council of Ministers during two successive sessions, on February 22, 1938, and May 30, 1938, respectively.[1] The resolution, issued by the Council of Ministers, stipulated that the organizing committee should be comprised of academician Dimitrie Gusti, a reputed sociologist, as the Commissioner General (he had held the same function at the "International Exhibition of Art and Technology in Modern Life," Paris, 1937) and Alexandru Bădăuță, as the Secretary General of the Commissariat (who had worked in the same capacity for the 1937 exhibition in Paris). The organizing team would later be joined by: the career diplomat Andrei Popovici,[2] who was based in the United States at that time, as a

1 See *Monitorul Oficial al României [The Official Gazette of Romania]*, Part 1, no. 112, May 18, 1938, 2413 (Jurnale ale Consilului de Miniștri, Ministerul Economiei Naționale, ședința din 22 februarie 1938 / session of February, 22, 1938), respectively *Monitorul Oficial al României*, Part 1, no. 127, June 6, 1938, 2752 (*Jurnale ale Consiliului de Miniștri, Ministerul Economiei Naționale*, Session May 30, 1938). The resolution of the session held on February 22, 1938 records 8 articles, and the session of May 30, 1938 adds another two articles, and voids the previous text. See "Participarea României la expoziția universală New-York 1939. Textul decretului lege. Se va înființa un muzeu pentru păstrarea obiectelor expuse," *Curentul*, no. 3697, May 20, 1938, 11; "Participarea României la expoziția din New-York," *Curentul*, June 9, 1938, 7.

2 Andrei Popovici (1895–1965) was Secretary of the Romanian Legation (Embassy) in Washington, DC, and then Consul-General of Romania in New York, in the 1930s–1940s.

Deputy Commissioner General; Paul Sterian, as the responsible for the economic department of the Romanian House, and architect August Schmiedigen,[3] who had moved to the US in 1938, as the contractor designated to build the two edifices that showcased the presence of Romania at the Fair: "The Official Pavilion of Romania" designed by architect G.M. Cantacuzino, and "The Romanian House," designed by architect Octav Doicescu (Fig. 1).

One relevant detail, discussed during the two sessions of the Council of Ministers, draws the attention: some of the materials and objects belonging to the State and coming from the liquidation of the Romanian Pavilion at the 1937 Paris World's Fair were to be recycled and used for the New York event. Also, the sessions recorded the plan for a *Museum of Propaganda*:

> In order to save all the materials and objects, the General Commissariat will propose the plan and the functioning rules for a museum destined to this purpose, precisely. The museum, following the model of similar institutions abroad, will be a permanent venue and will gather any type of materials and objects that serve cultural propaganda. The management of this museum will take care of the adequate conservation and preservation of existing materials and objects, and also will enlarge its collection with new objects and artifacts that can be used for any exhibition, even at a short notice.[4]

The ambitious plan for the new museum did not materialize, although the idea was to be reiterated after two years, in 1940. Nevertheless, in 1939,

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His appointment as a member of the Commissariat for the World's Fair came at a later moment, as his name does not appear in the documents of the sessions from February 22, and May 30, 1938. For his role in disseminating Romanian culture in the U.S. See Mona Momescu, Eduard Andrei, *Risipitorul de talent: Ilie Cristoloveanu, pictor și filolog în România și SUA* (Bucharest: Paideia, 2022), 176–177, and Laurențiu Vlad, "România la Expoziția Internațională de la New York (1939–1940): un moment din istoria diplomației culturale autohtone; documente privind înființarea și funcționarea unui birou de propagandă în SUA," *Studia Politica: Romanian Political Science Review*, VI, no. 4 (2006): 949, Accessed May 10, 2022, https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/handle/document/56255.

3 For details, See: Laurențiu Vlad, "Câteva date cu privire la construcția, amenajarea și organizarea activității Casei Românești la New York World's Fair (1939–1940)," December 13, 2022, Accessed March 1, 2023, http://www.cooperativag.ro/cateva-date-cu-privire-la-constructia-amenajarea-si-organizarea-activitatii-casei-romanesti-la-new-york-worlds-fair-1939–1940/#_ftn1.

4 *Monitorul Oficial al României*, Part 1, no. 127, 2752–3, Art. VIII.

the Propaganda Office of the General Commissariat of Romania for the New York World′s Fair was established, on Andrei Popovici′s initiative.[5] The participation of Romania in the Fair was meant to showcase a panorama of the "royal revolution" during the Carol II regime. In this regard, a powerful propaganda action preceding the opening of the World′s Fair was the half-hour bulletin dedicated to Romania by the American radio stations, on February 12, 1939 (Fig. 2). The broadcast started with a short introduction to the topic, followed by the National Anthem of Romania, King Carol II′s personal message, in English, the National Anthem of the U.S.A., and a music program.[6] The king′s speech enforced the diplomatic and political message of Romania′s presence at the Fair:

> Romania responded promptly and enthusiastically to the invitation extended by the United States to join the New York World′s Fair. […] A more profound knowledge of Romanian customs and products will lead to a more respectful and friendlier attitude to our country. Animated by this belief, My Country decided to join this noble and useful cultural event. […] The Romanian Pavilion

[5] The Propaganda Office was created at Andrei Popovici's initiative, and coordinated by him. It was served by a press attaché, a referent, a translator and a typist. The Office: 1. disseminated relevant information on Romania in the American press, showcasing King Carol II's accomplishments and his initiatives in economy, education, and politics; 2. created promotional materials (posters, pamphlets, brochures) for the visitors; 3. liaised between visitors and Romania, by securing their contact, in order to send them further materials on Romania, based on their interest in the exhibits at the Romanian Pavilion; 4. projected the ad-hoc Romanian restaurant as the epitome of traditional life, combining Romanian cuisine with folk music and dance. *Apud* Vlad, "România la Expoziția Internațională...," 950–953.

[6] See "O emisiune românească de radio care va fi transmisă în toate continentele. Mesajul radiofonic al M. S. Regelui Carol II despre participarea României la Expoziția Universală dela New-York," *Curentul*, no. 3958, February 8, 1939, 12; "Mesajul radiofonic al M. S. Regelui despre participarea României la Expoziția Universală dela New-York," *Curentul*, no. 3963, February 13, 1939, 14; "Ora românească la Radio pentru America," *Curentul*, no. 3964, February 14, 1939, 1; "România participă la Expoziția Universală dela New-York," *Foaia poporului* (Sibiu), no. 8, February 19, 1939, 1–2. King Carol II's radio message had been planned by Dimitrie Gusti, the Commissioner General, in collaboration with the Romanian Radio Society; it was broadcast by Radio Bucharest, then transmitted in the United States by Radio Geneva, and then broadcast from the U.S. in Australia, Asia, Africa, Europe, via 400 radio stations. The U.S. had sent Robert Wood, a radio specialist, to Bucharest, to ensure the technical standards for success. He remained in Bucharest until the king's message was broadcast.

> in New York will present our constant effort towards the social progress of our country.[7]

King Carol II received periodical news on the state of Romania's presence at the Fair. An entry of his diary, dated June 5, 1939, records: "In the afternoon, Gusti presented his report on New York. Despite the difficulties he encountered, it seems that our Pavilion is a huge success, and there is real hope to develop commercial relations with the US."[8]

Indeed, Romania was one of the star countries at the Fair thanks to the exquisite buildings that showcased its national identity: *The Official Pavilion of Romania* and *The Romanian House*; both buildings occupied a privileged position near the *Lagoon of Nations* and the *Court of Peace*, adjacent to the pavilions of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Japan, and in diagonal with the French pavilion (Fig. 3).

The Official Pavilion was projected by architect and prince G. M. Cantacuzino as an ensemble of simple, geometrical volumes that were emphasized by the mineral nobility of materials: the unique Rușchița marble for the facades, pillars of alabaster, and the spectacular salt ceiling inside. The building was meant as a symbol of modern Romanian architecture, an illustration of the so-called "Carol II style,"[9] inasmuch as a subtle allusion to the Eastern tradition of the (post-)Byzantine architectural style (Fig. 4–5 a, b). G.M. Cantacuzino explained this synthesis of the old and the modern in his own description of the building:

> The official Pavilion presents the Romanian State. Its architecture, defined through classical contours and modern simplicity, nevertheless alludes to a

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7 "Ora românească la Radio pentru America."

8 Carol al II-lea, regele României, *Însemnări zilnice: 1937–1951*, ed. Nicolae Rauș, vol. II (Bucharest: Scripta, 2003), 132. To understand the difficulties encountered by D. Gusti, See Vlad, "Câteva date."

9 See: Ion D. Enescu, "Stil Regele Carol II," *Arhitectura* V, no. 2 (1939), 4–5, Accessed March 1, 2022, https://arhitectura-1906.ro/2015/09/catre-un-stil-carol-ii-in-arhitectura-romaneasca-2/; Petre Antonescu, *Renașterea arhitecturii românești. Către un stil Carol II*, Bucharest, 1939 and *Către un stil Carol II în arhitectura românească*, Accessed March 1, 2022, https://arhitectura-1906.ro/2015/07/catre-un-stil-carol-ii-in-arhitectura-romaneasca/; Răzvan Theodorescu, "Despre stilul Carol al II-lea," *Historia*, Accessed March 1, 2022, https://historia.ro/.

> decorative style that belongs to Eastern monumentality. The picturesque was left out. The smooth simplicity of the geometrical volumes and of the sobriety of forms is placated with Romanian marble. Onto these surfaces, the tall panels show decorative patterns that illustrate the Brancoveanu style, fretsawed on a golden background: sunflowers and their symbolic richness and the undulating grace of tulips. The pink socle, the marble walls in shades of white, bluish, or pink contribute to a rich and warm design; the pieces are fastened with metal nails and corner braces. Thus, using classical lines and durable material, and a rich decoration that finishes in a gilded, engraved frieze the exterior of the pavilion stands for Romanian serenity. Passing under a portico with columns ornated with motives of a Scythian sword shield, the visitors enter through the Brancoveanu-style gate, which is the only intentionally archaic element […]; inside, the middle hall ends against a well-lighted panel that presents the iconographic map of Romania that looks like a Byzantine carving in ivory, and in front of it one can see the Column of Royalty from which the portrait of the Sovereign King and of His August Son seem to bloom. Our country, with everything it has more precious, and Our Sovereign King in all of His prestige and power, here are the major topics of this Pavilion, and also the first image that catches the eye of the visitor. High arcades carved in alabaster hold a gallery whose balustrade is covered in a frieze that memorializes the essential events of our history" [the frieze by Mac Constantinescu, *i.e.*] […].[10]

By comparison to the Pavilion, *The Romanian House*, designed by architect Octav Doicescu seemed to bow, in respect, to old Romanian architecture and brought a flavor of the picturesque and Oriental exoticism at the same time (Fig. 6). The building was meant to offer "a more intimate view of Romanian life," and to be an ad-hoc "museum of Romanian tradition."[11] A Romanian restaurant that served staples of Romanian cuisine was opened inside *The Romanian House*; famed artists of Romanian folk music, such as Maria Tănase, and the orchestras conducted by Grigoraș Dinicu and Fănică Luca held recitals and concerts. The building itself, with a rectangular section tower surmounting the main structure, was reminiscent of medieval religious architecture. The entrance portal was a replica of that at the Cetățuia Monastery

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[10] G.M. Cantacuzino, "Afirmarea românească peste Ocean," *Arta și Tehnica grafică* 12 (June-September 1940): 48–49.

[11] Idem, *Romania at the New York World's Fair* [propaganda brochure] chapt. "The Romanian House," (1939), not numbered.

in Iași. The loggia columns, each decorated differently, were copies of the columns of the Văcărești Monastery in Bucharest and other old churches;[12] thus, the hybridization of sources illustrated the complexity of "national specificity." The two iconic buildings hosted the most representative exhibit pieces of Romanian economy, industry, history, art, and culture.

The artistic dimension of Romanian specificity brought together fine and decorative art, displayed outside and inside the buildings. A brief inventory shows the names of the most representative artists at the turn of the 20th century, together with contemporary artists (from the interbellum age): there were paintings by Theodor Aman, Nicolae Grigorescu, Ion Andreescu, Theodor Pallady, Gheorghe Petrașcu, Nicolae Tonitza, Francisc Șirato, Arthur Verona, Ion Theodorescu-Sion, Lucian Grigorescu, Marius Bunescu, Nicolae Dărăscu, Nicolae Vermont, Rodica Maniu, Samuel Mützner; sculptures by Cornel Medrea, Oscar Han, Mihai Onofrei, Mac Constantinescu, Milița Petrașcu, Ion Jalea; monumental and decorative art by Olga Greceanu, Dem Demetrescu, Lena Constante, Nora Steriadi, Paul Miracovici, Petre Grant, Al. Mazilescu, and also religious artifacts and folk art.

Because of the outbreak of World War Two, the artworks displayed at the World's Fair never returned to Romania. The collection was dispersed in several places in the USA. A large number of works (sculptures, mosaics, ceramics, furniture) ended up at "St. Mary" Romanian Orthodox Cathedral of Cleveland, OH (Fig. 7), together with a noteworthy amount of construction materials, after the dismantling of the two buildings.[13]

A significantly smaller number of artworks and materials was donated to the *Cathedral of Learning*, the "centerpiece" of the University of Pittsburgh, PA, for the „Romanian classroom"; the room was part of the "Nationality

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[12] Images of the Official Pavilion and of the Romanian House and their detailed presentation in Cantacuzino, "Pavilionul oficial la Expoziția din New-York, 1939" and "Casa românească la Expoziția din New-York, 1939," *Arhitectura* VII, no. 1 (1941): 166–9; Cantacuzino, "Afirmarea românească peste Ocean," 37–51.

[13] See: Fr. Remus Grama, Fr. Vasile Hațegan, *Saint Mary Romanian Orthodox Cathedral, Cleveland. 100 Years of Romanian Orthodoxy in Cleveland* (Cleveland, Ohio: 2004), 12, 59.

Rooms" project (Fig. 8 a, b). The Romanian room was projected, like all the other rooms in the late 1920s, but inaugurated only on May 16, 1943.[14] The final destinations of artworks and materials must be connected to Dimitrie Gusti's trips to cities with old and powerful Romanian communities: Cleveland, OH; Pittsburgh, PA, and Detroit, MI, in late Spring, 1939.[15]

After the closing of the World's Fair, The Official Gazette of Romania [Monitorul Oficial], Part I, November 20, 1940, published The Decree-law on the liquidation of the Romanian Pavilion at the World's Fair in New York[16] (Fig. 9); the document had been issued the day before and signed by the Ministry of National Economy and by General Ion Antonescu, who, at the moment, was the President of the Romanian Council of Ministers and the "Conducător" (Leader) of the State.[17] The decree-law counts eleven articles, and it brings cardinal information for the fate of the exhibits present in New York. Thus, Article 5 (k) reiterates the idea that circulated in 1938 to open a Propaganda Museum with a branch in New York City, in collaboration with The Romanian Church. The church in question is the Romanian Orthodox Parish "St. Dumitru" from Manhattan; another partner institution named in the decree is the Cultural Center (the ancestor of the Romanian Cultural Institute today).

I was particularly interested in the ways in which the decree approaches the future destination of the artwork presented at the World's Fair; in this respect, I found that Articles 7 and 9 offer significant information. Article 7 reads:

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[14] See: *The Romanian Classroom in the Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1944).

[15] See: "În vizită la Românii americani. Dl profesor D. Gusti, comisarul general al României la expoziția dela New-York, vizitează coloniile românești din Statele Unite," *Foaia poporului* (Sibiu) 23 (June 4, 1939): 7.

[16] "Decret-lege pentru lichidarea pavilionului românesc dela Expoziția din New-York," no. 3845, *Monitorul Oficial al României*, Part 1, no. 274 (November 20, 1940): 6510–1. See Also: *Serviciul Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale – București (hereafter, SANIC)*, Fond 3586. Ministerul Industriei și Comerțului. Comisariatul General al pavilioanelor României la Expozițiile Internaționale de la Paris (1937) și New York (1939), 1936–1943.

[17] Between Sept. 6, 1940 (after King Carol II's abdication) and Aug. 23, 1944.

> The Romanian State, through the Ministry of National Economy, donates the following: a) to The American International College of Springfield: construction materials – marble and alabaster – resulted from the dismantling of the Pavilion, and also the dioramas of the Pavilion; the donee will cover the incumbent expenses of the dismantling and of the transportation of materials to its venue; also, the donee will use the materials to build an auditorium and a museum in Romanian style; b) to the University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: the furniture and the objects/artifacts that will be found useful to the Romanian Classroom by the Commission.

As I mentioned before, in the end, most of the objects and construction materials ended up at the "Saint Mary" Romanian Orthodox Cathedral in Cleveland, OH, and at the University of Pittsburgh. So far, I have not been able to trace any Romanian presence at the American International College of Springfield (MA?), nor have I been able to ascertain that the decree refers to that particular academic institution, and not to others, as there is a number of towns/cities named Springfield across the United States. What is worth noting is that the decree-law does not mention any proposed donation to the Romanian Orthodox Parish "St. Dumitru" of Manhattan, under Article 7. Article 9 appears very confusing: on the one hand, it approves selling certain objects retrieved from the Pavilion, except those that were earmarked for the projected Propaganda Museum – New York, while, on the other hand, prohibits selling the artwork:

> The Commission will also weigh on the opportunity of selling, or transporting back to Romania, or to other countries, of objects from the Pavilion that belong to the State, or to art museums, and that will not be retained for the Propaganda Museum in New York. Artworks cannot, under any circumstances, be sold. All the installations and other artifacts that are not deemed useful for the museum in New York will be obligatorily sold, at once. The Commission will abide by the state law of public accounting and by the law of public patrimony […],

on the condition that the Romanian legal provisions did not contradict the American laws or were impossible to apply in the said circumstances. Finally, Article 10 stipulates that if the objects are sold, "The Commission will work with US government and financial authorities to waive the restriction of

goods or accounts that belong to Romania"; the money obtained would be kept by the Romanian Legation in the USA.

Despite these detailed legal provisions, the easel paintings that illustrated Romanian art at the World's Fair never returned to Romania and were considered lost forever. The Romanian press, the press of the Romanian diaspora in the U.S. (the newspapers *America* and *Solia / The Herald)*, or prestigious American newspapers, such as *The New York Times*, documented the participation of Romania in the World's Fair extensively. However, very few articles – out of over 100 that I read for this research – mention the artworks on display and their authors. In some articles, the artworks appear as independent illustrations, or they are caught in casual overall photos of the exhibition, lacking identification; most of the time, the articles just record the artworks briefly, making it very hard to identify them or the artists. Many times, the artists are simply ignored.

Generally, the large and monumental artworks drew the interest of the public, and, consequently, of the journalists: in the Romanian Pavilion, the allegorical statue *Romania* by Oscar Han (Fig. 10 a, b), the sculptural group *Romanian Work* by Corneliu Medrea, the *Column of Royalty* by Milița Petrașcu (Fig. 11 a, b), the statue of Romania represented as a Medieval princess by Ion Jalea (Fig. 5 a), the long *Frieze of Romanian History* by Mac Constantinescu (Fig. 5 b) (these can now be found in the "St. Mary" Romanian Orthodox Cathedral in Cleveland, OH); also, the large murals by Lena Constante on *The Village Staircase*, or those by Dem Demetrescu on the *Stairway of the Royal Foundations* (Fig. 5 a), and the monumental panels by Paul Miracovici that illustrated the activity of the Romanian Social Services; in the Romanian House, an impressive oil painting that imitated tapestry, with a heroic theme – *Intrarea lui Mihai-Viteazul în Alba-Iulia [Voivode Mihai Viteazul Enters Alba-Iulia]* – by Olga Greceanu or a monumental votive mosaic with the family of Constantin Brâncoveanu by Nora Steriadi (Fig. 8 b) (the mosaic can now be admired in the "Romanian Classroom" of the Cathedral of Learning, at the University of Pittsburgh).

The very few photos of the interiors of the two buildings catch unclear glimpses of the easel paintings, usually seen in the background, which makes them difficult to identify. Nevertheless, one of the paintings displayed in the *Romanian House*, under the semicircular vaults at the foot of the staircase, could be identified: it is *Întoarcerea de la târg* (*Return from the Country Fair*) by Francisc Șirato (Fig. 12).

Fortunately, we have a detailed account of the painters whose works were on display at the exhibit, by painter Ilie Cristoloveanu; he had settled in New York in 1922, and he showed a *portrait of George Enescu* in the Official Pavilion, although he had not been part of the official selection of artists.[18] In an article ("recycled" and published in several newspapers in Romania and the US), he makes an inventory of painters and works displayed in the *Romanian House* (Fig. 13 a): "The Romanian easel painting is represented by 13 artists and 20 works, as follows: 4 by Grigorescu, one by Aman, four by Petrașcu, two by Izer, two by Bunescu, two by Paladi; the rest of participating artists contributed with one painting each: Shirato, Mutzner, Dărăscu, Rodica Maniu, Tonița, Lucian Grigorescu, and Verona."[19] His account was a very useful document that helped me corroborate it with the list of artists and works in the insurance document found in the National Archives of Romania (Fig. 13 b).[20] When compared, the two documents show some inconsistencies, but they are extremely important for trying to restore the list of Romanian painters present at the World's Fair.

My article presents and analyzes the "fate" of two of the easel paintings displayed at the World's Fair that have been considered lost: *Întoarcerea de*

[18] See: Andrei, "Pictorul român Ilie Cristoloveanu și familia sa la Expoziția Universală de la New York, 1939–40," in *Mărturii de istorie și cultură românească*, vol. I, ed. Mariana Lazăr (Bucharest: Muzeul Național Cotroceni, 2022), 312–5.

[19] Elie Cristoloveanu, "Expoziția Internațională dela New York. Pavilionul și Casa României," *America. Roumanian News* (Cleveland, OH), no. 110, September 19, 1939, 3. (I kept the orthography of the painters' names as it appears in the article. Cristoloveanu's counting is not accurate: he mentions 20 paintings, not 22, as it is correct.)

[20] SANIC, *Fond 697. Fundațiile Culturale Regale – Centrala, 1921–1946, Direcția Administrativă, Serviciul Contabilității*, File no. 11/1939, 285.

la târg (Return from the Country Fair) (not dated / 1926, oil on canvas, 117 x 89 cm) by Francisc Șirato, and *Spartul horei* (*Last Spin at a Hora*), also known as *Joc* (*Folk Dance)* (1911, oil on canvas, 71 x 90 cm) by Arthur Verona. Both paintings belonged to Pinacoteca Statului (The State Art Gallery), as we read in the Catalogue of the State Art Gallery, published by the Ministry of Public Education in 1930, inventoried under no. 262 (Șirato), and no. 281 (Verona, with a slightly different title, *Sfârșit de joc / At the End of Dance*, and reproduced in the catalog).[21] The two masterpieces speak volumes on the representation of Romanian identity and cultural propaganda at the World′s Fair; they both present to "the Other" an image of a solemn and archaic Romania, whose very essence lies in a set of unquestionable traditional values, peppered with a certain "Oriental exoticism," well-liked by the American public. The same concept animated the entire *Romanian House*, with its ethnic restaurant and folk music concerts.

The other Romania presented at the Fair was a dynamic, industrialized, modern country, the land of many discoveries in science and technology – image reflected by the *Official Pavilion.*

In 2017, I had the chance of a unique discovery: the two masterpieces that had been considered lost forever – *Întoarcerea de la târg (Return from the Country Fair*) by Francisc Șirato and *Spartul horei / Joc* (*Folk Dance / Last Spin at a Hora)* de Arthur Verona "resided" at the Romanian Orthodox Parish "St. Dumitru," Manhattan (50 W 89th Street), in the rectory (Fig. 14 a, b).[22] The building that hosts the church was initially a townhouse, later turned into a church (Fig. 15).

The final destination of these two paintings is connected to the fact that the church was founded in direct connection to the World′s Fair; even the saint patron of the church (St. Dumitru/Demetrios) was chosen as an

[21] Ministerul Instrucțiunii Publice, *Pinacoteca Statului*, Ateneul Român (Bucharest: 1930), 21 and the section of illustrations, not numbered.

[22] I am grateful to Dr. Mona Momescu, who in 2017 was the incumbent of the "N. Iorga" Chair for Romanian Language and Culture at Columbia University, New York, and to Fr. Dr. Ioan Cozma, the priest of the Romanian Orthodox Church "St. Dumitru," Manhattan, for their help with this research.

homage to Dimitrie Gusti, as we read in an article in *The New York Times*, July 24, 1939.[23] Moreover, the ceremonial consecration of the church in the morning of July 23, 1939 was followed by luncheon at the *Romanian Pavilion*, as we read in *Today at the Fair* (daily newsletter about the fair) and in *The New York Times*.[24]

Francisc Șirato (b. 1877, Craiova, Romania – d. 1953, București, Romania), the author of the first discovered painting, *Întoarcerea de la târg (Return from the Country Fair*), was a painter, illustrator, and also an art theorist and critic (Fig. 16).[25] In 1925, together with painters Nicolae Tonitza, Ștefan Dimitrescu and sculptor Oscar Han, he founds the so-called *Grupul celor patru (Group of the Four)*. The group, known as one of the most significant Romanian associations of artists during the interbellum age, stayed active until 1933 and organized nine exhibitions. Esthetically, "the four" positioned themselves instead as traditionalists in style and themes (by comparison with contemporary avant-garde trends); they preferred to reinterpret the Impressionistic and Post-Impressionistic aesthetics and to explore rural themes as an answer to the question that preoccupied everyone at that time, namely "what is national specificity?" Șirato participated in and received prizes at the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition, at the ones in Brussels (1935), Paris (1937), and New York (1939–1940). In 1946, he was awarded the National Prize for painting. His art vacillates between logic and sensibility and switches from a Cézanne-inspired Cubism in his early paintings, such as *Return from the Country Fair,* to the later explosions of light and color that define a poetic temperament of the artist; the later period shows vanishing contours, translucid and fluid

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[23] See: "Rumanian Church Is Dedicated Here. First House of Worship of Orthodox Faith in New York Is Consecrated," *The New York Times*, July 24, 1939, 10.

[24] See: "The Fair Today," *The New York Times*, July 23, 1939, 28.

[25] He wrote numerous studies and chronicles on art and exhibitions, published in various Romanian cultural magazines and newspapers. He published a monograph on Nicolae Grigorescu, in French: Francisc Șirato, *Grigoresco* (collection *Apollo. Art Roumain moderne*, dirigée par Al. Busuioceanu, Éditions de la Connaissance, Bruxelles, 1938). He left in manuscript a volume on the work of painter Max W. Arnold. His writings were published posthumously: *Prospecțiuni plastice – Studii. Schițe de portret. Cronici*, introduction by Ionel Jianu, foreword and selection by Petre Oprea (Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1958); *Încercări critice*, foreword by Petru Comarnescu (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1967).

materiality, and forms and volumes that seem to appear from one another, intrinsically connected.

Șirato, who held Romanian folk art and its geometric simplicity of forms in high esteem, wrote:

> The art of the Romanian peasant is invention, and it attains essentialism. The peasant represents nature in a purified, spiritual manner whose geometric equivalent is form freed of corporeality. Lines, squares and other geometric forms appear in hierarchically organized proportions on rugs and woven bed covers, colored in primary colors; all these spread the power of aesthetic spiritualism."[26]

Șirato himself professed a true "cult of shape," both as a painter, and as an art theorist. Art critic Ioana Vlasiu wrote that Șirato could "purify the atemporal essence of shape and make it function as standard of Romanian-ness.[27]

In this respect, *Return from the Country Fair* (Fig. 17 a, b), that art critics unanimously name a masterpiece, may be understood as the summum of the painter's credo. It was first exhibited at the Official Salon of 1926 and reproduced in the catalog of the Salon. When the exhibition closed, the Ministry of Arts retained it for the collection of the State Art Gallery. Thirteen years later, in 1939, the painting traveled across the Ocean to represent Romania at the World's Fair. It will never return to Romania.

Art critics and historians who wrote monographs or studies of Șirato's work after that date[28] list the painting as "disappeared" or "lost;" they fail to mention where it is, or they locate it erroneously (Fig. 18). Here are examples, in chronological order:

In the hefty monographic study *Șirato* (1946), Petru Comarnescu mentions *Return from the Country Fair* several times and even reproduces it, adding that it can be found in the "State Art Gallery"; probably, its status

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[26] Șirato, "Arta plastică românească," *Încercări critice*, 38.

[27] Ioana Vlasiu, *Anii '20. Tradiția și pictura românească* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 2000), 40.

[28] I deliberately excluded the excellent volume *Fr. Șirato*, text by Tudor Arghezi, ed. Christea I. Guguianu (Bucharest: Casa de librărie și editura Arta, 1944), because it is dedicated exclusively to Șirato's graphic art.

and location were unclear at the time, or people hoped that the painting would return to Romania. Comarnescu considered it a masterpiece of the second period of Şirato's creation, a period that he defines as *The Age of Great Compositions, or The Synthesis of Form, Light, and Color (1924–1932):*

> With *Return from the Country Fair*, Şirato's painting shows surprising qualities. The long veils of the two peasant women seem to be woven of light, in contrast with the dark and thick blue of their skirts and blouses; the blue materiality is nonetheless visited by the spirit of light"; "especially in *Return from the Country Fair*, the characters (…) seem to stop in their movement, a movement that is taken on by lines and shadows, and mostly by the color that makes everything dynamic. With time, the light would become life or movement in Şirato's vision; everything originates in the principle of chromatic dynamism or in the radiation of the light.[29]

In a monographic study published in 1956, Vasile Drăguț lauds *Return from the Country Fair* and even reproduces it, as well, without supplying any information pertaining to its place.[30] The omission may be attributed to the fact that the album was destined to popularize Romanian art: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă (The State Publishing House for Art and Literature) issued about 3,000 copies per book, and the art books had abstracts in Russian, English, French, and German.

Horia Horșia lists *Return from the Country Fair* in his small monographic study on Şirato (1964) and introduces a footnote that says that the painting "disappeared," like *Întâlnirea (The Encounter)* from 1924;[31] the latter, however, had been destroyed in a bombing, during the war, in 1944.

The Catalogue of the *Francisc Şirato* Exhibition, at Muzeul de Artă al R.P.R. (The Art Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania), in 1965, lists this artwork under "Paintings not present in this exhibition" and reproduces it in black and white, adding that it has "disappeared."[32]

[29] Petru Comarnescu, *Şirato*, ed. Ionel Jianu (Bucharest: Căminul Artei, 1946), 25–26, image 6.

[30] Vasile Drăguț, *Fr. Şirato* (Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1956), 26, image 19.

[31] Horia Horșia, *Francisc Şirato* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1964), 7.

[32] Petre Oprea, *Francisc Şirato* [exhibition catalogue] (Bucharest: Muzeul de Artă al R.P.R., 1965), 11 and 126–127.

Dan Grigorescu, who wrote the introduction of the album *Șirato* (1967), regrets the disappearance of the two paintings, *The Encounter* and *Return from the Country Fair*; he presents details on the circumstances that led to the destruction of the former, while on the latter he does not offer any explanation: "*Return from the Country Fair* is lost, as well. We know of it from a study dated 1923."[33]

Mihai Ispir, in the small monograph *Șirato* (1979), writes about the artist's "second great synthesis," also lost, *Return from the Country Fair*, dated 1926."[34]

Post-Communist catalogs, monographs, and studies have not brought any further clarification on the status and location of this painting so far. In 1998, Muzeul Național de Artă al României (The National Art Museum of Romania) organized a retrospective exhibition of the artist's work. Cristina Panaite wrote in the catalog of the exhibition:

> The artworks that develop a rural life theme, from the more famous Întâlnirea [The Encounter], Întoarcerea de la tîrg [Return from the Country Fair], both lost, to Negustorul de scoarțe [The Rug Peddlar], Două țărănci [Two Peasant Women] și Chiaburului satului [The Richest Peasant in the Village], or to the series of rural-themed drawings (…), all these bring forward a unique typology of the peasant who is solemn, statuary and harsh.[35]

The "vanishing" of the painting I discovered in New York reappears in one of the reference books on Romanian interbellum art. Ioana Vlasiu, in *Anii '20. Tradiția și pictura românească (The 1920s. Tradition and the Romanian Painting)* writes: "The two large paintings meant to illustrate Șirato's aesthetic program, *The Encounter* (1924) and *Return from the Country Fair* (1926) no longer exist. We have a reproduction of the former, while the latter exists in a simplified version."[36]

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[33] Dan Grigorescu, *Șirato* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1967), 7.

[34] Mihai Ispir, *Șirato* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1979), 32.

[35] Cristina Panaite, *Francisc Șirato* [exhibition catalogue] (Bucharest: Muzeul Național de Artă al României, 1998), 6.

[36] Vlasiu, *Anii '20*, 52.

It is true that, as Dan Grigorescu and Ioana Vlasiu wrote, *Return from the Country Fair* exists in a simplified and smaller version (Fig. 19), today at the National Art Museum of Romania – MNAR (inventory no. 68896/7343); in this version, only one peasant woman appears in the foreground, the one that carries the wicker basket on her head. She is represented in the same solemn, monumental manner; this composition shows the same geometrical simplification of volumes that comes from Cézanne and a color palette based on the contrast between warm and cold colors, with light being sensibly incorporated into colors. This version belongs to the national cultural heritage under the "Thesaurus" legal category (Classification Order no. 3830/31.12.2021).

As a funny fact, I will add that the Romanian Orthodox Church "St. Dumitru" also holds a copy of the *Return from the Country Fair* (Fig. 20); the copy was executed by Stella Roman (1904–1992), a respected member of the Romanian diaspora, and a well-known soprano at the Metropolitan Opera in New York in the 1940s; she also sang at the inauguration of the "Romanian Classroom" in the Cathedral of Learning, Pittsburgh. Roman also tried her talent as a painter, although her skills were rather modest. As I was trying to understand why a copy of the painting would be kept together with the original, I engaged in conversation with the current priest, Fr. Ioan Cozma; corroborating data from the archive of the church, we reached the conclusion that maybe, at some point, the Parish Council may have intended to sell the original, to cover the church's current expenses. Fortunately, this never happened.

In the case of the other painting that I discovered, by Verona, a similar chronological analysis of the sources can be performed, although the critical texts are, by far, less numerous than those dedicated to Șirato: Ion Zurescu, *Verona* (Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1957); Ioan Botiș, *Arthur Garguromin Verona* (Muzeul Județean de Artă „Centrul Artistic Baia Mare," 2011), or books on the entire Verona family of artists: Mariana Preutu, Brândușa Răileanu, *Pictorii familiei Verona* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2011); *Museo Arthur Verona* (Bucharest: 2018) (Fig. 21).

Arthur Garguromin Verona (b. 1867, Brăila, Romania – d. 1946, Bucharest, Romania), less known or appreciated today than Șirato, was, in his time, an important figure in the Romanian art world[37] (Fig. 22). He came from an aristocratic Dalmatian family and was naturalized as a Romanian citizen only in 1941. As an artist, he was a founding member and the president (1910–1912) of the Society "Tinerimea Artistică" ("Art Youth"). His paintings were officially selected for the Universal International Exhibitions in Paris (1900), Brussels (1935), and New York (1939). In 1919, he founded Academia Liberă de Arte Frumoase (The Free Academy of Fine Arts) as a reaction to the Academism imposed on students by G.D. Mirea at the Școala Națională de Arte Frumoase (The National School of Fine Arts); in 1940 he was appointed as a professor at the Superior School of Church Painting and Sculpture of the Patriarchy of Bucharest. In 1944, he published a book in which he shared his experience as a religious painter and educator.[38]

He tried all genres, from allegoric Symbolism to portrait and *plein-air* painting; his *plein-air* paintings are mostly rural fairy scenes, in the footsteps of Nicolae Grigorescu, and inspired by the county of Herța, where he had a studio. He also painted monumental frescoes for lay and religious buildings.

The painting found at the Romanian Orthodox Church "St. Dumitru," Manhattan (Fig. 23 a, b), is listed in the aforementioned insurance policy as *Joc* (*Folk Dance*); it was displayed at the 1912 exhibition of "Tinerimea Artistică" ("Art Youth") as *Studiu pentru „Spartul horei" (fragment) / Study for „Last Spin at a Hora" (fragment)*, which makes us advance the idea that Verona may have planned a larger, possibly monumental painting. The work received the gold medal at the München Salon of 1912. When I found the painting

[37] For further reference, see also: Ioana Vlasiu, "Călătoriile formației. Pictori din România la München în jur de 1900," in *Artiștii români în străinătate (1830–1940): călătoria, între formația academică și studiul liber* (Bucharest: Institutul Cultural Român, 2017), 238–342; Eduard Andrei, Ioana Apostol, Virginia Barbu, Ramona Caramelea, Olivia Nițiș, Corina Teacă, *Dicționarul pictorilor din România. Secolul al XIX-lea*, coord. Adrian Silvan-Ionescu (Bucharest: Oscar Print, 2020), 258–260.

[38] A. G. Verona, *Pictura. Studiu tehnic cu douăzeci de planșe hors-texte* (Editura și tiparul Sfintei Monastiri Neamțu, 1944).

and examined it thoroughly, I discovered a note on the back: it was restored in 1992 by Igan Buburuzan (cleaned, relined on a new canvas, fixing the missing color, new varnish). Another painting of the same series was auctioned in the 2010s by Artmark under the same title, *Spartul horei* (*Last Spin at a Hora*). This work presents the same couple of dancers (Fig. 24).

I would like to believe that the discovery of these two works would elicit the interest of Institutul Național al Patrimoniului (The National Heritage Institute) in order to be classified as mobile cultural goods under the "Thesaurus" legal category and recorded in the CIMEC[39] database of the Ministry of Culture.

Illustrations



Dimitrie Gusti, Commissioner General of Romania at the 1939– 940 New York World's Fair



The organizing team:
1. **Andrei Popovici**, Deputy Commissioner General
2. **Al. Bădăuță**, Secretary General
3. **G.M. Cantacuzino**, architect of the Official Pavilion of Romania
4. **Octav Doicescu**, architect of the Romanian House
5. **Paul Sterian**, organizer of the Economic section at the Romanian House
6. **August Schmiedigen**, architect, constructor of the two buildings

Fig. 1. Dimitrie Gusti, Commissioner General of Romania at the 1939–1940New York World′s Fair, and his organizing team.[40]

[39] Centrul de Informatică, Memorie și Sinteză Culturală (Center for Informatics, Memory and Cultural Synthesis), since 1998 Institutul de Memorie Culturală (The Institute of Cultural Memory).

[40] *Realitatea Ilustrată*, June 20, 1939, 18.



Ora românească la Radio pentru America

Pavilionul României dela New-York
va înfățișa străduințele noastre continui către progresul social-general al țării...
..a spus M. S. Regele Carol al II-lea în mesagiul adresat publicului american

Suveranul rostind Mesajul în fața microfonului

Aseară la ora 8.30, posturile românești de radio au transmis „Ora românească" pentru America, organizată de Comisariatul general al Expoziției dela New-York, cu concursul soc. de radio-difuziune din subsecretariatul de Stat al Propagandei.

Programul acestei jumătăți de oră, a fost deschis prin sunete de bucium și apoi prin această scurtă prezentare a rostului emisiunii:

„Pentru a contribui la îndeplinirea scopurilor care au inspirat pe organizatorii Expoziției Universale dela New York, în vederea construirii lumii de mâine, o lume închinată bunei înțelegeri și prieteniei dintre popare, Majestatea Sa Regele Carol al II-lea și-a asumat un rol precumpănitor în alcătuirea planurilor Pavilionului românesc și în selecționarea prezentărilor naționale caracteristice.

Prin intermediul d-lui prof. Dimitrie Gusti, comisar general al participării României la Expoziția Universală dela New-York, Majestatea Sa Regele Carol al II-lea vrea să dea peste Ocean, în Pavilioanele României, una din imaginile bogatei vieți culturale românești, precum și realizările noastre de artă și muzică, înfăptuirile pe tărâm economic și industrial și, mai presus de toate, speranțele, năzuințele și dorința vie a poporului român de a se bucura de binecuvântarea rodnică a propășirii, a securității și a unei păci cât mai durabile"...

Cuvântul M.S. Regelui

S'a executat apoi, de către orchestra Radio, Imnul Regal, după care Majestatea Sa Regele Carol al II-lea a rostit următorul Mesaj, în limba engleză, adresat publicului american:

...

nul american au trimes la București un inginer specialist, d. Robert Wood, care a lucrat, în decursul ultimelor zece zile, atât cu d. profesor D. Gusti, cât și cu tehnicienii societății de radio-difuziune.

Pedealtăparte, însăși ora americană, 13.30, la care a avut loc emisiunea, una din cele mai prețuite și mai ascultate peste Ocean, cât și faptul că ea a fost fixată într'o zi de sărbătoare, pun, în aceeași măsură, în lumină marea însemnătate pe care cercurile americane au acordat-o Mesajului M. S. Regelui și programului transmis.

Telegramele primite din America, au anunțat în legătură cu aceasta, largul ecou și via dorință cu care publicul american a așteptat „Ora Românească". Acest fapt a determinat marile consorții de radio americane să difuzeze Mesajul M. S. Regelui și programul românesc, prin toate posturile existente în cele două Americi (aproape 400): cinste care nu s'a făcut decât rare ori unei țări europene.

SUCCESUL DESĂVÂRȘIT AL EMISIUNEI

Cablogramele, sosite în chiar cursul nopții din America, confirmă succesul deplin al emisiunii și aduc primele comentarii asupra Mesagiului M. S. Regelui. Ele vădesc simpatia cu care cercurile americane au întâmpinat cuvintele regale și satisfacția lor de a vedea Regele României și poporul românesc animați de aceleași sentimente, constructive și pașnice, ca și marele popor american.

Mărturia Suveranului nostru că a răspuns cu spontaneitate la invitația guvernului și publicului american din convingerea că Statele-Unite reprezintă astăzi una din țările cele mai animate de adevăratele rosturi ale civilizației și progresului, a fost comentată în chipul cel mai favorabil cu putință.

De asemeni, cercurile conducătoare ale manifestării din această primăvară, își mărturisesc convingerea că, și la New-York, România, — sub directa conducere a M. S. Regelui Carol, — va înregistra acelaș deplin succes care a situat-o, acum doi ani la Paris, printre „marile puteri culturale și creatoare ale lumii".

Sus: Orchestra Grigoraș Dinicu. Mijloc: Taraful de lăutari Ilie Rădulescu. Jos: Orchestra Radio condusă de d. Rogalski

Fig. 2. The radio message of His Majesty King Carol II (February 12, 1939).[41]



Fig. 3. Map of the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair.[42]

[41] Clipping from *Curentul*, February 14, 1939, 1.

[42] www.quora.com.

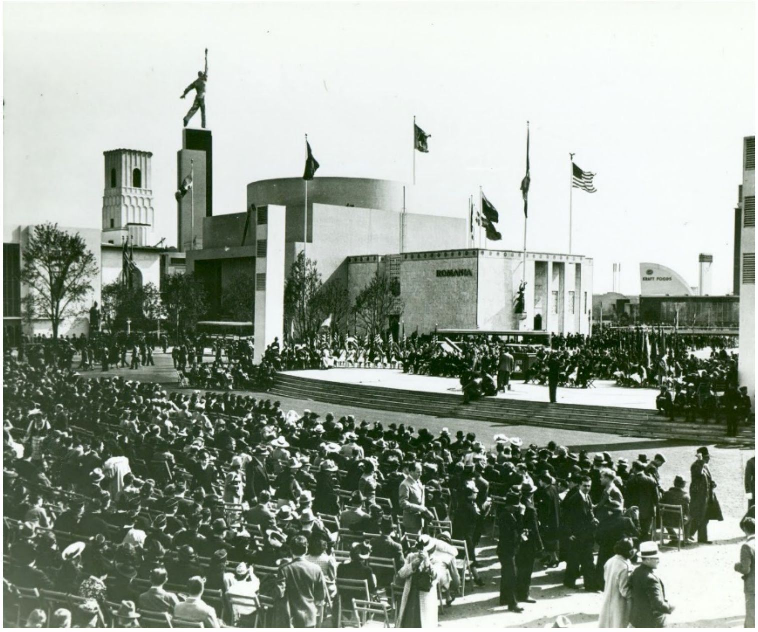


Fig. 4. The Official Pavilion of Romania (exterior),
architect G.M. Cantacuzino, at the 1939–1940 New York World′s Fair.[43]



Fig. 5. The Official Pavilion of Romania (interior):
a. Staircase of the Royal Foundations with the Statue of Romania by Ion Jalea and panels by Dem Demetrescu; b. The crystal map of Romania (on the ground floor), the Frieze of Romanian History, hammered in copper, by Mac Constantinescu (on the gallery′s railing on the first floor). Photo: Underwood and Underwood Photographic Company, New York. Library of the Romanian Academy.

[43] http://octavdoicescu.blogspot.com/2013/02/expozitia-universala-new-york-1939_9.html.



Fig. 6. The Romanian House / the restaurant (exterior),
architect Octav Doicescu, at the 1939–1940 New York World´s Fair.[44]



Fig. 7. "St. Mary" Romanian Orthodox Cathedral of Cleveland, OH.

[44] Ibid.

a   b

Fig. 8. a. Cathedral of Learning – University of Pittsburgh, PA.
b. "Romanian classroom" (inaugurated on May 16, 1943). In the background: the monumental votive mosaic with the family of Constantin Brâncoveanu by Nora Steriadi, from the World's Fair. Photo: Eduard Andrei.

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MINISTERUL ECONOMIEI NAȚIONALE

GENERAL ION ANTONESCU,
Conducătorul Statului Român
și
Președintele Consiliului de Miniștri,

Având în vedere raportul d-lui ministru secretar de Stat la Departamentul Economiei Naționale cu Nr. 95.470 din 18 Noemvrie 1940;

In baza dispozițiunilor decretelor-legi Nr. 3.052 din 5 Septemvrie și Nr. 3.072 din 7 Septemvrie 1940;

Am decretat și decretăm:

DECRET-LEGE
pentru lichidarea Pavilionului românesc dela Expoziția din New-York și pentru instituirea unei Comisiuni având această însărcinare

Art. 1. — Lichidarea pavilionului expoziției dela New-York se va face de către Ministerul Economiei Naționale, în unire cu Ministerul Afacerilor Străine, atribuțiunile secretariatului general al Expoziției, instituit prin jurnalul Consiliului de Miniștri din 6 Iunie 1938, încetând pe data publicării prezentului decret-lege.

Art. 2. — In vederea acestei lichidări se institue o Comisie numită „Comisiunea pentru lichidarea pavilionului românesc dela expoziția din New-York", și care va funcționa la New-York și la București.

Art. 3. — Această Comisiune va fi compusă din 6 membri, numiți prin deciziune ministerială. Din ea vor face parte, pentru America:

a) Insărcinatul de afaceri al României pe lângă Legația din Washington;
b) Consulul general al României la New-York și
c) Un alt membru al Legației din Washington, iar pentru București din 3 delegați ai Ministerului Economiei Naționale.

Art. 4. — Comisiunea este autorizată să lichideze toate bunurile mobile și imobile ale pavilionului, precum și ale depozitului Comisariatului expoziției aflătoare în București, cu privire la acea expoziție, având pentru aceasta dreptul de a face în general toate actele și demersurile judiciare și administrative necesare acestei lichidări.

Ministerul Economiei Naționale va fi reprezentat în fața tuturor autorităților juridice și administrative din țară sau din străinătate, de oricare dintre lichidatorii Comisiunii, fără vreo delegație anume în această privință.

Art 5. — Atribuțiunile Comisiunii sunt:

a) de a strânge dela Ministerele Muncii, Afacerilor Străine și Economiei Naționale, subsecretariatul de Stat al Propagandei, precum și dela Comisariatul general al Expoziției, și dela Camerele de Muncă, Consiliul Superior al Industriei Casnice și Uniunea Industriilor Casnice, Institutul Național de Export, Liga Femeilor Române, Soc. Principele Mircea, U. C. B., și în general dela toate instituțiunile și persoanele particulare participanți la această expoziție, datele și actele privitoare la acest pavilion;

b) de a prelua inventarul și de a inventaria toate bunurile mobile din pavilion, precum și toate instalațiunile cuprinse în el;

c) de a încheia contractele necesare dărâmării „Casei României" și „Pavilionului Oficial" și predării terenului potrivit condițiunilor contractuale;

d) de a intra în legătură cu autoritățile, instituțiunile, întreprinderile sau orice alte persoane, cu ajutorul cărora ar putea proceda la lichidarea pavilionului și a obiectelor aflate în el;

e) de a lua toate măsurile în vederea conservării și pazei lor pe timpul lichidării;

f) de a intra în legături cu particularii proprietari ai obiectelor expuse la acest pavilion, de a-i convoca sau de a le cere în scris părerea sau consimțământul la hotărîrile pe care le crede sau ce urmează a fi luate;

g) de a face toate intervențiunile necesare pe cale diplomatică sau pe cale directă la autoritățile noastre sau la cele străine, pentru a obține cele necesare măsurilor de conservare, depozitare, vânzare sau restituire a acelor bunuri, sau a valorii lor;

h) de a încheia valabil, în numele Statului, sau în numele particularilor, care și-au dat consimțământul, toate actele și convențiunile necesare lichidării și de a proceda la formalitățile de executarea lor;

i) de a închiria localurile necesare depozitării și conservării obiectelor din pavilion;

j) de a asigura obiectele depozitate împotriva riscurilor și de a organiza paza lor, putând angaja personal necesar;

k) de a înființa la New-York, pe lângă Centrul cultural și Biserica românească din acest oraș, o secțiune a muzeului de propagandă pentru continentul american, potrivit dispozițiunilor din regulamentul întocmit de Comisariatul general al Expoziției, conform jurnalului Consiliului de Miniștri din 6 Iunie 1938;

l) de a alege și numi personalul de pază și a aproba cheltuelile de lichidare.

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Art. 6. — In vederea lichidării pavilionului și a obiectelor cuprinse în el, Comisiunea va alcătui două compartimente, unul pentru bunurile Statului, iar celălalt pentru cele ale particularilor.

Art. 7. — Statul Român, prin Ministerul Economiei Naționale donează:

a) Instituției Universitare American International College din Sprinfield, materialul — marmoră și alabastru — rezultat din dărâmarea pavilionului, precum și dioramele pavilionului, pentru ca această instituție să construiască cu ele o aulă și un muzeu în stil românesc, întreaga cheltuială a dărâmării pavilionului și a transportului materialelor privind această instituție;

b) Universității din Pittsburg-Pensylvania, mobilierul și obiectele pe care Comisia le va găsi necesare camerei românești dela această Universitate.

Art. 8. — Comisiunea, prin Consulatul General Românesc dela New-York, va face formele necesare și va încheia actele în baza cărora se va face transmisiunea bunurilor arătate în articolul precedent.

Art. 9. — Comisiunea va hotărâ deasemeni asupra oportunității vânzării sau transportării în țară sau în alt stat a obiectelor din pavilion aparținând Statului sau pinacotecilor și care nu vor fi depozitate în secțiunea muzeului de propagandă din New-York.

Operele de artă nu vor putea fi în nici un caz vândute.

Toate instalațiunile care nu pot fi folosite pentru secțiunea muzeului de propagandă ce se va înființa la New-York, vor fi în mod obligator de îndată vândute.

In caz de vânzare a acestor obiecte, Comisiunea se va conforma legii contabilității publice a Statului și legii patrimoniului public, întru atât întrucât aceste legi nu sunt potrivnice legilor americane sau întrucât nu sunt în imposibilitate de a fi aplicate.

Prețul de vânzare nu va putea fi în nici un caz mai mic decât cel din evaluarea conținută în inventar.

Art. 10. — In caz de vânzare a obiectelor, Comisiunea va interveni pe lângă autoritățile guvernamentale și financiare din U. S. A., pentru ridicarea măsurilor de blocare a bunurilor sau depozitelor românești.

Numerarul obținut va fi consemnat la Legația României, de unde nu va fi eliberat decât cu aprobarea Ministerului Economiei Naționale.

Art. 11. — Cheltuielile necesitate de funcționarea Comisiunii precum și de înființarea secției muzeului de propagandă dela New-York, se vor acoperi din relicatul fondului Comisariatului General al expoziției din New-York, precum și în măsura nevoilor prin deschiderea de credite extraordinare din bugetul general al Statului.

Dat în București la 19 Noemvrie 1940.

Conducătorul Statului Român
și
Președintele Consiliului de Miniștri,
General Ion Antonescu

Ministrul economiei naționale,
Mircea Cancicov

Ministrul finanțelor,
G. Cretziano

Nr. 3.845.

GENERAL ION ANTONESCU
Conducătorul Statului Român
și
Președintele Consiliului de Miniștri,

Având în vedere raportul d-lui ministru secretar de Stat la Departamentul Economiei Naționale cu Nr. 95.471 din 18 Noemvrie 1940.

In baza dispozițiunilor decretelor-legi Nr. 3.052 din 5 Septemvrie și Nr. 3.072 din 7 Septemvrie 1940.

Am decretat și decretăm:

DECRET-LEGE
pentru lichidarea patrimoniului Camerelor de Comerț și de industrie și ale Burselor din teritoriilor evacuate

Art. I. — Trec la dispoziția Ministerului Economiei Naționale toate fondurile Camerelor de Comerț și de Industrie și ale Burselor de Mărfuri din teritoriile evacuate, a căror activitate a încetat, aflate la Banca Națională a României, Cassa de Depuneri și Consemnațiuni, Cassa Națională de Economie și Cecuri Poștale sau la orice altă instituțiune, la ordinul lor sau al instituțiunilor pendinte de ele.

Deasemenea, trec la dispoziția Ministerului Economiei Naționale în acelaș scop, toate bunurile mobile și imobile ale Camerelor de Comerț și de Industrie și ale Burselor menționate mai sus ce se găsesc în teritoriul supus suveranității Statului Român.

Se exceptează dela prevederile de mai sus acele valori și bunuri asupra cărora s'a dispus prin măsuri anterioare luate, fie prin legi, fie prin decizii ale Ministerului Economiei Naționale.

Art. II. — Ministerul Economiei Naționale va putea utiliza aceste valori și bunuri pentru ajutorarea instituțiilor publice cu caracter comercial din teritoriile evacuate, care și-ar continua activitatea lor în țară a instituțiilor publice asupra cărora apasă sarcini din plasarea funcționarilor refugiați ai Camerelor și ai Burselor, cât și pentru lichidarea eventualelor drepturi ce ar exista față de acele Camere și Burse.

Dat în București la 19 Noemvrie 1940.

Conducătorul Statului Român
și
Președintele Consiliului de Miniștri,
General Ion Antonescu

Ministrul economiei naționale,
Mircea Cancicov

Nr. 3.846.

Fig. 9. „The Decree-law on the liquidation of the Romanian Pavilion at the World's Fair in New York," in Monitorul Oficial al României.



a b

Fig. 10. a. The allegorical statue România (1938, bronze, height 410 cm) by Oscar Han, on the facade of the Romanian Pavilion.[45] b. The statue is now in the courtyard of the "St. Mary" Romanian Orthodox Cathedral in Cleveland, OH. Photo: Eduard Andrei.



a b

Fig. 11. a. The Column of Royalty (King Carol II and Grand Voivode of Alba-Iulia – Mihai I) by Milița Petrașcu, in Carrara marble, projected onto the Map of Romania at Work by Mac Constantinescu, at the Romanian Pavilion.[46] b. The column is now in the courtyard of the "St. Mary" Romanian Orthodox Cathedral in Cleveland, OH. In the 1950s, the column was converted into the Virgin and Child by a local sculptor. Photo: Fr. Remus Grama.

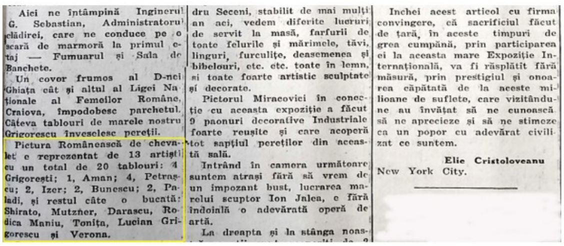
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[45] *Romania at the New York World's Fair* [propaganda brochure], s.a. [1939].

[46] Ibid.



Fig. 12. The Romanian House / the restaurant (interior), architect Octav Doicescu, at the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair. In the center of the image (marked with a yellow oval): the painting Return from the Country Fair by Francisc Șirato. Photo: Underwood and Underwood Photographic Company, New York.[47]



Aici ne întâmpină Inginerul G. Sebastian, Administratorul clădirei, care ne conduce pe o scară de marmoră la primul etaj — Fumuarul şi Sala de Banchete.

Un covor frumos al D-nei Ghiaţa cât şi altul al Ligei Naţionale al Femeilor Române, Craiova, împodobesc parchetul. Câteva tablouri de marele nostru Grigorescu înveselesc pereţii.

Pictura Românească de chevalet e reprezentat de 13 artişti cu un total de 20 tablouri: 4 Grigoreşti; 1, Aman; 4, Petraşcu; 2, Izer; 2, Bunescu; 2, Paladi, şi restul câte o bucată: Shirato, Mutzner, Darascu, Rodica Maniu, Toniţa, Lucian Grigorescu şi Verona.

dru Seceni, stabilit de mai mulţi an aci, vedem diferite lucruri de servit la masă, farfurii de toate felurile şi mărimele, tăvi, linguri, furculiţe, deasemenea şi bibelouri, etc. etc. toate în lemn, şi toate foarte artistic sculptate şi decorate.

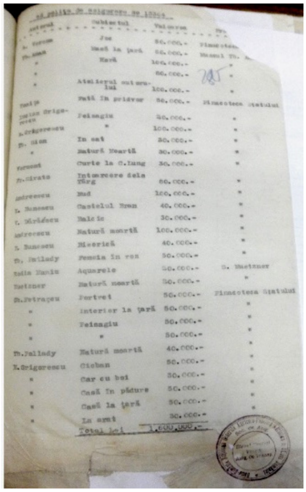
Pictorul Miracovici în conecţie cu aceasta expoziţie a făcut 9 paonuri decorative Industriale foarte reuşite şi care acoperă tot spaţiul pereţilor din aceastã sală.

Intrând în camera următoare suntem atraşi fără să vrem de un impozant bust, lucrarea marelui scuptor Ion Jalea, e fără îndoială o adevărată operă de artă.

La dreapta şi la stânga noas-

Inchei acest articol cu firma convingere, că sacrificiul făcut de ţară, în aceste timpuri de grea cumpănă, prin participarea ei la aceasta mare Expoziţie Internaţională, va fi răsplătit fără măsură, prin prestigiul şi onoarea căpătată de la aceste milioane de suflete, care vizitându-ne au învăţat să ne cunoască să ne aprecieze şi să ne stimeze ca un popor cu adevărat civilizat ce suntem.

Elie Cristoloveanu
New York City.



Autorul	Subiectul	Valoarea	[illegible]
[illegible]	Joc	80.000.-	Pinacoteca
Th. Aman	Masă la ţară	80.000.-	Muzeul Th. A
"	Horă	100.000.-	"
"		80.000.-	"
"	Atelierul autorului	100.000.-	"
[illegible]	Fată în pridvor	80.000.-	Pinacoteca Statului
[illegible]	Peisagiu	40.000.-	"
[illegible]	"	100.000.-	"
[illegible]	In sat	30.000.-	"
"	Natură moartă	30.000.-	"
[illegible]	Curte la C.Lung	30.000.-	"
Fr.Şirato	Intoarcere dela Târg	80.000.-	"
Andreescu	Nud	100.000.-	"
[illegible]	Castelul Bran	40.000.-	"
[illegible]	Balcic	30.000.-	"
Andreescu	Natură moartă	100.000.-	"
[illegible]	Biserică	40.000.-	"
Th. Pallady	Femeia în roz	50.000.-	"
[illegible]	Aquarele	20.000.-	S. Mutzner
Mutzner	Natură moartă	30.000.-	"
St.Petraşcu	Portret	50.000.-	Pinacoteca Statului
"	Interior la ţară	50.000.-	"
"	Peisagiu	50.000.-	"
"	"	50.000.-	"
Th.Pallady	Natură moartă	40.000.-	"
N.Grigorescu	Cioban	50.000.-	"
"	Car cu boi	30.000.-	"
"	Casă în pădure	50.000.-	"
"	Casă la ţară	50.000.-	"
"	La arat	30.000.-	"
	Total lei	1.600.000.-	

Fig. 13. a. Clipping from the article: Elie Cristoloveanu, „Expoziția Internațională de la New York. Pavilionul și Casa României" in America. Roumanian News (Cleveland, OH)[48], b. Insurance document for transporting the artworks to New York.[49]

[47] http://octavdoicescu.blogspot.com/2013/02/expozitia-universala-new-york-1939_9.html.

[48] Elie Cristoloveanu, „Expoziția Internațională dela New York. Pavilionul și Casa României," in *America. Roumanian News*, September 19, 1939, 3.

[49] Serviciul Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale – Bucharest, *Fond 697. Fundațiile Culturale Regale – Centrala, 1921–1946, Direcția Administrativă, Serviciul Contabilității*, File no. 11 / 1939, p. 285.



a



b

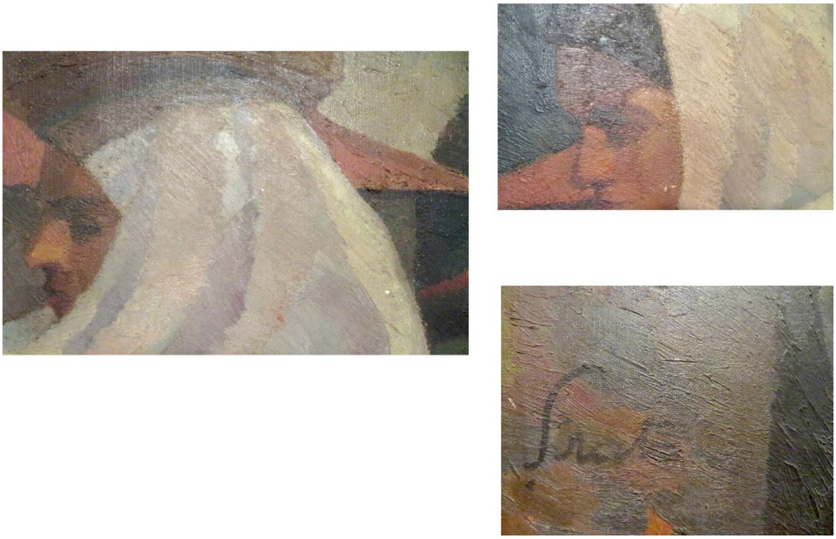
Fig. 14. a. Eduard Andrei measuring the painting Return from the Country Fair by Francisc Șirato, Romanian Orthodox Parish "St. Dumitru," Manhattan, New York (September 30, 2017). b. Eduard Andrei with the painting Last Spin at a Hora / Folk Dance by Arthur Verona, Romanian Orthodox Parish "St. Dumitru," Manhattan, New York (September 30, 2017). Photo: Fr. Ioan Cozma.



Fig. 15. Romanian Orthodox Parish "St. Dumitru,"
Manhattan, New York (50 W 89th Street). Photo: Eduard Andrei.



Fig. 16. Francisc Șirato. Photo: Atelier Foto-Tehnica.
Library of the Romanian Academy.



a

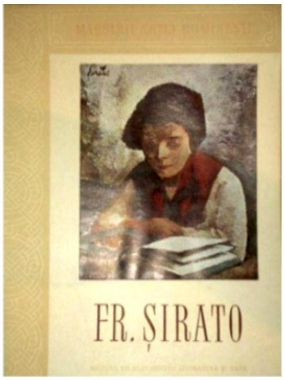


b

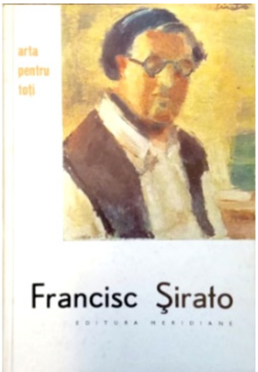
Fig. 17. a. Francisc Șirato, Return from the Country Fair (not dated /1926, oil on canvas, 117 x 89 cm), Romanian Orthodox Parish "St. Dumitru," Manhattan, New York. b. Întoarcerea de la târg – details. Photos: Eduard Andrei, Cătălin Cozma.



Petru Comarnescu, *Şirato*, Căminul Artei, 1946



Vasile Drăguţ, *Fr. Şirato*, E.S.P.L.A., 1956



Horia Horşia, *Francisc Şirato*, Meridiane, 1964



Petre Oprea, *Francisc Şirato*, Muzeul de Artă al R.P.R., 1965



Dan Grigorescu, *Şirato*, Meridiane, 1967



Mihai Ispir, *Şirato*, Ed. Meridiane, 1979



Cristina Panaite, *Francisc Şirato*, M.N.A.R, 1998

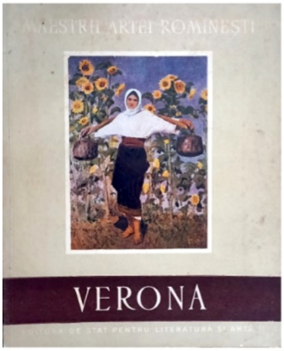
Fig. 18. Monographs or catalogs of Șirato's work by: Petru Comarnescu (1946), Vasile Drăguț (1956), Horia Horșia (1964), Petre Oprea (1965), Dan Grigorescu (1967), Mihai Ispir (1979), Cristina Panaite (1998).



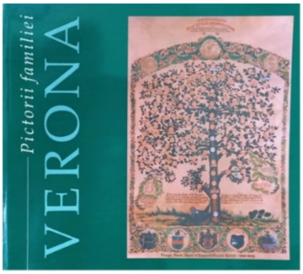
Fig. 19. Francisc Șirato, Return from the Country Fair (not dated /1923?, oil on cardboard, 64,5 x 49,5 cm), a simplified and smaller version at the National Art Museum of Romania – Bucharest (inventory no. 68896/7343). Photo: Eduard Andrei.



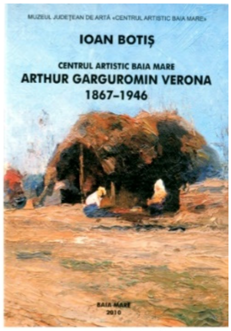
Fig. 20. Stella Roman, copy after Francisc Șirato, Return from the Country Fair (oil on canvas), Romanian Orthodox Parish "St. Dumitru," Manhattan, New York. Photo: Cătălin Cozma.



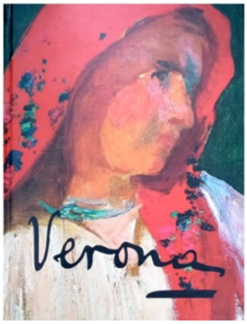
Ion Zurescu, *Verona*, E.S.P.L.A., 1957



Mariana Preutu, Brândușa Răileanu, *Pictorii familiei Verona*, Humanitas, 2011



Ioan Botiș, *Arthur Garguromin Verona*, Muzeul Județean de Artă „Centrul Artistic Baia Mare", 2011



Museo Arthur Verona, București, 2018

Fig. 21. Monographs on Arthur Verona or books on the entire Verona family of artists: Ion Zurescu (1957); Ioan Botiș (2011), Mariana Preutu, Brândușa Răileanu (2011); Museo Arthur Verona (2018).



Fig. 22. Arthur Garguromin Verona. Public Domain[50].

[50] Source: https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur_Verona.



Fig. 23. a. Arthur Verona, Last Spin at a Hora / Folk Dance (1911, oil on canvas, 71 x 90 cm), Romanian Orthodox Parish “St. Dumitru,” Manhattan, New York. b. Last Spin at a Hora / Folk Dance – details. Photos: Eduard Andrei, Cătălin Cozma.



Fig. 24. Arthur Verona, Last Spin at a Hora
(1911, oil on canvas) – work auctioned in the 2010s by Artmark.[51]

[51] https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur_Verona.

Ministry of Industry and Commerce – Commissioner General for the Romanian Pavilions at the International Exhibitions in Paris (1937) and New York (1939) – 1936–1943 Fund. New Perspectives on Romania's Participation in the *New York World's Fair*

Octaviana Jianu

In April 2023, the National Archives of Romania made available to researchers the "Ministry of Industry and Commerce – Commissioner General for the Romanian Pavilions at the International Exhibitions in Paris (1937) and New York (1939) – 1936–1943" Fund. As it is evidently revealed by its very name, the fund contains various documents regarding Romania's participation in the international exhibitions from France and America, whose Commissioner General was the renowned sociologist Dimitrie Gusti. In the approximately 1,700 pages contained by this fund, among other interesting data, researchers can find information that converges on two important topics, namely, the management of the commissioner of the *New York World's Fair*, respectively the liquidation of the Romanian Pavilion put up on that occasion in the American metropolis.

In the first section of this paper, we will briefly discuss the management of Dimitrie Gusti as it is reflected in current documents to spark experts' interest in the new archival fund. The problem of the Romanian Pavilion's liquidation will be discussed in the second section, considering the unique circumstance that a commission known as the Commission for the Liquidation of the Romanian Pavilion from the *New York World's Fair* operated in Bucharest for several years. At one point, its activity dealt with researching Gusti's

management, although formally, it did not have such duties.[1] From this point of view, the new fund reveals a lesser-known episode of the scholar's biography concerning the shortcomings caused by fulfilling the role of Commissioner general of the exhibitions. Also, the documents recently subject to research complement the numerous files previously accessed by researchers at the National Archives of Romania or at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, thus contributing to the unity of the general framework regarding Romania's participation in the *New York World's Fair*.

Shortly after the end of this important international event that took place between April 1939 and October 1940, the question arose of verifying the correct spending of public money, managed especially by Dimitrie Gusti and his financial adviser, Alexandru Tomescu, an official at the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. In order to investigate the way funds were allocated and in order to find a justification for the incurred expenses, by Decision no. 354347 of December 13, 1940, the management verification Commission regarding the Commissioner General for the Romanian Pavilion at the *New York World's Fair* is constituted, in the subordination of the Ministry of Finance; the verification Commission was managed by lawyer Traian Scurtu. Following the verifications, the Commission drafts a severe report, in which it accuses the sociologist and his main collaborators of committing some irregularities, such as: the lack of an expenditure budget which, once established, was to be subject to verification by the Ministry of Finance, then to the approval of the Council of Ministers; collecting sums from donations without issuing receipts, errors in the accounting books.[2]

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1 See, for instance, *Approval no. 709 of May 5, 1943, of the Superior Council of the State*, File no. 9/ 1940–1948, 48–54. In the previously cited document, a report is mentioned, that had been drafted by Dimitrie Gusti, in which the sociologist stated that said commission had exceeded its duties, actually merging with the management verification Commission of the commissioner general for the Romanian Pavilion at the international exhibition from New York. Idem, 53–53 v.

2 Here are several representative quotations in this regard:
"The commission, examining the registers and documents put at its service, finds that, in the lack of a well-established budget, the expenses were random, there was no control, the commissioner's accounting books were chaotic, there is no execution account that would

The case is sent to trial to the High Court of Accounts. In February 1948, after many years since the opening of the case and after examining all the evidence, including those provided by Dimitrie Gusti and his lawyer, Alfred Miletineanu, the High Court of Accounts decided, in the hearing of February 10, 1948, that "it dismisses the verification and judgment of the management" carried out by the commissioner general of the *New York World's Fair*.[3]

A key role in understanding the management issue is played by the memo prepared by the sociologist in May 1947.[4]

The memo, with which Gusti had otherwise convinced the court, presented five reasons, with related evidence, why the verification of his management was not within the competence of this institution.

1. Gusti was not a public manager. This category included, according to the explanations found in the memo, either public officials authorized to work as managers (art. 8 of the Public Accounting Law), or private individuals or even public officials who managed money, valuables, and public materials (art. 16 of the same law), provided that the management referred to the public services mentioned by articles 1 or 199 of the Public Accounting Law. Dimitrie Gusti, as a representative of the Royal Cultural Foundations, managed the funds allocated to this institution in the form of subsidies, according to the Law of October 26, 1938, published in the Official Journal no. 249/1938, and according to the Journal of the Council of Ministers no. 1068 of June 6, 1938, published in the Official Journal no. 127/1938. Although the Royal Cultural Foundations represented an institution of public utility, according to its organizational laws, namely the Law of April 14, 1933, published in

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constitute the management account. The recording method adopted by Mr. Tomescu, the manner in which the operations were made, the state in which the files were submitted, determine the Commission to conclude that there is a total lack of care and seriousness. The Commission, examining the pieces put at its service, shows that it found itself in the position to reconstitute by itself the management operations, following which it reached the conclusion that, in a number of 269 cases, the expenses were incurred without complying with the regulations set by the Public Accounting Law […]." Ibid, 49 v.

3 Ibid, 8v.

4 Ibid, 27–33.

the Official Journal no. 88/1933, respectively the Law of April 9, 1941, published in the Official Journal no. 85/1941, they were not subject to articles 1 or 199 of the Public Accounting Law. Therefore, the sociologist was not a public official, and his management as manager of the funds was not a public management, in the sense provided by the Public Accounting Law, because the subsidies granted to the Royal Cultural Foundations did not represent public money.

The sociologist's conclusion is eloquent and worth noting:

> Therefore, as I have not managed any public funds, as I did not have the status of a public official, as my management was not public according to the Public Accounting Law, and as I have not handled any money, valuables or public materials, according to art. 8 para.4 or art.16 of the Public Accounting Law, I cannot be considered a public manager either as an administrator of the funds for the organization of the New York 1939 Exhibition, made available by the State to the Royal Cultural Foundations, whose representative I was, or as the handler of these funds; as such, the Public Accounting Law and the law on the organization of the High Court of Accounts cannot be applied to me, so that I should be subjected to the control and jurisdiction of the High Court of Accounts.[5]

2. Gusti was not the advance holder. According to art. 22 of the Law on the Organization of the High Court of Accounts, advance holders were under the jurisdiction of this institution.

> The law published in the Official Journal no. 249 of October 26, 1938 related to the opening of the credit necessary for the exhibition clearly shows that the amount stipulated in the extraordinary credit opened by operation of this law serves as a subsidy to the Legal Cultural Foundations in order to cover the expenses of the exhibition.[6]

At the same time, as Gusti claimed, the amounts from the State were not received:

> […] to perform a service, for supplies or to carry out any work [...], but they were received from the State on behalf of the Royal Cultural Foundations as

5 Ibid, 28.

6 Ibid.

> subsidies to cover the organization expenses of the exhibition, an assignment entrusted to the Royal Cultural Foundations by the Journal of the Council of Ministers 1068/1938, and not as an advance, because the law of October 26, 1938 clearly showed that these amounts were subsidies, and, as such, no one can come later and declare as "advance," by administrative ways, what, according to the law, was a "subsidy.[7]

3. Dimitrie Gusti was not a trustee of the public administration, in the sense stipulated in the Law on the Organization of the High Court of Accounts. According to Article 22 of the law, advance holders were also agents of the administration. As Gusti was not an advance holder, he was not an agent of the public administration either.

4. The Royal Cultural Foundations had their own laws and statutes of organization, and, therefore, they did not have to submit to the Public Accounting Law or the Law of Organization of the High Court of Accounts as well. In his plea for the exclusion of the institution that he represented from the aforementioned laws, Gusti claimed the following four aspects:

> a. The Public Accounting Law provides in Art. 1 that it applies to public services, or the Royal Cultural Foundations and their Union are not public services, but they are services of public utility, according to the organization law of April 14, 1933, the regulation (art. 1) of the application of this law, published in the Official Journal no. 304, p. I of December 31, 1938, and art 1 of the organization law, published in the Official Journal no. 85 of April 9, 1941, which repealed the Law from 1933.
>
> b. Likewise, the Royal Cultural Foundations and their Union are not subject to the provisions of art. 199 of the Public Accounting Law, as this text refers to public administrations that generally have separate budgets, and para. e specifies the public institutions and charities and social care establishments, or the Royal Cultural Foundations and their Union are not public charities and social care establishments, but Foundations of public utility for culture, as specified in the laws of 1933 and 1941.
>
> c. According to the provisions of art. 18–25 of the law on the organization of the High Court of Accounts, as they were drafted in 1938 and 1939, when the operations related to the *New York World's Fair* took place, and not after the

7 Ibid, 28–29.

> amendments of June 12, 1940 – the competence of the High Court of Accounts was not extended to cultural institutions of public utility, such as the Royal Cultural Foundations and their Union [...], but only to public institutions and establishments.
>
> d. The Union was abolished by law 267 of May 13, 1944, and its estate was transferred, according to Art. 3 of the same law, to Regele Mihai I Foundation. By law no. 479 of June 16, 1945 (art. 1), the Foundations became legal entities of public law, but by art. VII of the law, the organization and operation of Foundations take place by way of derogation from public accounting laws, cumulating the status of public officials and the control of non-profit legal entities […].[8]

5. In his last reason in the memo, the sociologist claims two other issues: the subsidies allocated to the Union of Royal Cultural Foundations are not subject to the jurisdiction of the High Court of Accounts, and approval no. 76 of May 26, 1941, is illegal.

Gusti then elaborated on the last two assertions.

A. In 1938, the year in which the Union of Royal Cultural Foundations benefited from subsidies worth 141,000,000 lei, no law provided for the control of those subsidies nor of the beneficiary public utility institutions. By amending the Law on the Organization of the High Court of Accounts, which occurred on June 12, 1940, article 18 stipulates the execution of preventive and management control over

> […] the establishments that permanently receive annual subsidies from the State or amounts sporadically assigned to Foundations, created for the benefit of religious or cultural institutions of general or local public interest.[9]

For Gusti, it is not clear if the text of the law of June 12, 1940, also covers the Royal Cultural Foundations, especially since, between 1940–1947, this cultural institution was not subject to any preventive or management control by the High Court of Accounts. However, Article 5 of the Organization Law of the Royal Cultural Foundations of April 9, 1941, stipulates that "The

[8] Ibid, 29–30.

[9] Ibid, 30.

Superior Council of the Royal Cultural Foundations is the body that also checks the balance sheet and the management account."[10]

Meanwhile, article 14 of the same law stipulates that "the management is checked by a special commission composed of a counselor and two referents of the High Court of Accounts."[11]

However, both previously cited articles annul the legislative amendment of 12.06.1940, operated in article 18 of the Law on the Organization of the High Court of Accounts, claims the sociologist.

B. The subsidies granted by the Romanian State to the Royal Cultural Foundations for the exhibition from New York make even the subject of a "special journal": Journal no. 76 of May 26, 1941, of the High Court of Accounts s.II:

> The High Court of Accounts, s.II, through the aforementioned Journal (76/1941), is of the opinion that the amounts received in 1938 by the Union of Cultural Foundations are subsidies and not advances, that the subsidies will be justified by Mr. Prof. Gusti, as they were under his management, in his capacity as agent of the State, with any documents that show that the amounts received from the State as subsidy, with an express destination, were used only for the purpose for which they were intended and are accounted for before the High Court of Accounts as a first and last instance.[12]

Gusti considers the Journal of May 26, 1941, illegal for the following three reasons:

a. According to article 18 of the Law on the Organization of the High Court of Accounts, the version preceding the amendment of June 12, 1940, the Royal Cultural Foundations were not under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Accounts, as the Journal stipulates.
b. The amendment of article 18 of the same law does not have retroactive effect.
c. Article 15 – amended on June 12, 1940 – decrees that Section II of the High Court of Accounts has administrative control powers.

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid, 30–31.
[12] Ibid, 31–32.

Gusti's memo arouses curiosity regarding the reasons that determined the establishment of the Commission for the verification of his management and the manner in which said Commission dealt with the issue of the management.[13] It is possible that the scholar's accusation may be a mélange of institutional confusion, arising in those troubled times for the country, as well as a personal vendetta.

*

*   *

From the documents related to the liquidation of the Romanian Pavilion from New York it results that this task belonged to the Ministry of National Economy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Decree no. 3845/1940, issued on November 20, stipulated, for this purpose, the establishment of the Commission for the liquidation of the Romanian Pavilion from New York[14]. According to Article 3 of the Decree, the Commission was composed of six members: three belonged to the diplomatic corps and were compelled to operate in New York, another three operated in Bucharest. The members of the Commission were appointed by the Ministry of National Economy.

The Liquidation Commission for Bucharest was established in April 1941. From its activity, the new archival fund preserves, for instance, a substantial *corpus* of requests from public persons or institutions that had sent objects to New York, as well as the Commission's responses to petitioners, some of them being famous names of the time.

The Liquidation Commission intended to operate in New York was never established. The steps necessary for the liquidation were undertaken in America by Andrei Popovici, the Romanian consul in New York at that time and also the deputy commissioner of the exhibition.

About three weeks before the end of the event, the consul drafts a liquidation plan, which he submits to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ion

[13] Irregularities in the constitutions and operation of this Commission are reported, for example, in the note signed Mircea Vulcănescu, dated March 11,1943. Ibid, 55–57.

[14] See for instance the report on the establishment and operation of the *Commission for the liquidation of the Romanian Pavilion in the exhibition from New York*, File no. 13/1941–1944, 3–10.

Antonescu, for approval. This would be the Report no. 2064, of October 7, 1940.[15] The document begins with the issue of the high liquidation costs, proposing several practical solutions for their reduction. The architecture of universal exhibitions being ephemeral, the Pavilions of the States present in New York had to be demolished after the end of the event. Building materials, such as marble, alabaster, and carved stone, could not be brought into the country during wartime. Their dismantlement and preservation in America, until a later transfer, entailed great expenses for the Romanian State, particularly since the prominent American companies, taking advantage of the multiple demolition requests from other States present in New York, could always increase the prices in order to make a big profit. Popovici proposes two courses of action in his report; reduce the dismantlement costs and find solutions to capitalize the resulting materials and fittings or even destroy them, as the destruction cost would be even lower than the cost of storage. The consul proposes to co-opt American university institutions into the demolition plan that would be interested in reusing building materials, especially marble, alabaster, and carved stone. The involvement of American universities in the demolition process, however, came with a double great advantage. Not only were the demolition costs, borne in part by those universities, reduced, but the capitalization of building materials, by using them to build new university and cultural centers, simultaneously with the donation or sale of our country's exhibits, ensured the perpetuation of the presence of Romanian symbols on the American continent. We must not forget that the dissemination of Romanian culture in America represented an important objective pursued by Romania's presence at the *New York World's Fair*, as shown both by specialized literature and, of course, by the documents of the new archival fund.

We reproduce a significant passage found in the consul's report:

> In order to save the Government at least part of these expenses, I thought that, if we managed to interest an American university that would be willing

[15] Ibid, 17–21.

> to execute the demolition in exchange for building materials, we would also serve the Romanian culture, which will thus be perpetuated in this country, if our materials are to be used to build a university. The Romanian marble, alabaster and carved stone would be very useful in building a monumental construction. I was thinking that in this way at least there would be some long-lasting remainder of Romania's participation in an international exhibition, and the country's monetary sacrifices would be somehow justified by such a work.[16]

Andrei Popovici specifies in the same report that he intended, after obtaining the approval of the country's authorities, to negotiate with Harvard University, as well as with the American International College, so that the two prestigious institutions could take over our building materials.

Although Decree No. 3854 was issued on November 20, 1940, the Official Journal containing the Decree arrived later in New York, in January of the following year, when the consul had largely completed the liquidation. Around the arrival of the Official Journal in the American metropolis, Brutus Coste, Romania's chargé d'affaires at the Legation in Washington, who should have been part of the Liquidation Commission for New York, arrives here. The Romanian official refuses to constitute this commission, claiming the lack of a ministerial decision that would appoint him to the position, as stipulated in the Decree.[17]

Report no. 2280, drafted by Andrei Popovici and dated March 31, 1941, shows which institutions benefited from the materials recovered from the Romanian Pavilion. Some of them were donated to the Romanian Church Center in New York. The second recipient institution was the University of Pittsburgh. Here, according to an older cultural project initiated at the end of the 1920s, a Romanian auditorium was to be built alongside the classrooms of other States, but the material means were lacking. The arrival of the construction materials and of the Romanian cultural objects represented a good opportunity for the completion of this project.

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[16] Ibid, 17–18.

[17] See *Report no. 2280* of March 31, 1941, Ibid, 22–35.

Part of the materials were also donated to priest Ioan Trutia from Cleveland for the Romanian church.

The fourth institution receiving materials from the Romanian Pavilion was a high school in New Jersey. The high school also had a museum, to which several States donated various exhibits in 1941 at the closing of the *New York World's Fair*.

During this exhibition, many other American cultural institutions received Romanian cultural objects:

> I will not call to mind the hundreds of schools, universities, cultural institutions and high schools, to which we have sent, in the course of these two years, not only thousands of propaganda brochures, but sometimes also more important books, dolls, objects of peasant art, etc., rightfully considering, I think, that they were sent here for an intelligent propaganda to our country.[18]

[18] Idem, f. 28.

Annex

Law Decree 3845 of November 19, 1940, published in the *Official Journa*l No. 274 of November 20, 1940

Art. 1 – The liquidation of the exhibition pavilion from New York will be carried out by the Ministry of National Economy, in conjunction with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the attributions of the general secretariat of the exhibition, established by the journal of the Council of Ministers of June 6, 1938, ending on the publication date of this decree-law.

Art. 2 – In view of this liquidation, a Commission called "Commission for the liquidation of the Romanian Pavilion from the *New York World's Fair*" is established, which will operate in New York and Bucharest.

Art. 3 – This Commission will be composed of 6 members, brought together by ministerial decision. It will include, for America:

a) Romania's chargé d'affaires near Washington Legation.
b) The General Consul of Romania in New York, and
c) Another member of Washington Legation, and, for Bucharest, 3 delegates of the Ministry of National Economy.

Art. 4 – The Commission is authorized to liquidate all the movable and immovable assets of the pavilion, as well as of the warehouse assigned to the Commissioner of exhibition located in Bucharest, with regard to that exhibition, being, for these purposes, entitled to make all the necessary judicial and administrative documents and formalities related to this liquidation.

The Ministry of National Economy will be represented before all the legal and administrative authorities in the country or abroad, by any of the liquidators of the Commission, without any specific delegation in this regard.

Art 5. The Commission's duties are:

a) to collect from the Ministries of Labor, Foreign Affairs and National Economy, the State Undersecretariat of Propaganda, as well as from the Commissioner General of the exhibition, and from the Chambers of Labor, the Superior Council of Domestic Industry and the Union of Domestic Industries, the National Export Institute, the League of Romanian Women, the companies Principele Mircea, U.C.B., and in general from all institutions and private individuals participating in this exhibition, the data and documents regarding this pavilion.
b) to take the stock and to catalog all the movable goods in the pavilion, as well as all the existing fittings;

c) to conclude the necessary contracts for the demolition of the "Romanian House" and the "Official Pavilion" and to hand over the land according to the contractual conditions;
d) to get in touch with the authorities, institutions, enterprises or any other persons, with the help of which they could proceed to the liquidation of the pavilion and the objects in it;
e) to take all measures in order to preserve and guard them during the liquidation;
f) to get in touch with the private owners of the objects exhibited in the pavilion, to summon them or ask them in writing for their opinion or consent to the decisions that they think fit or that are to be made;
g) to make all the necessary diplomatic or direct interventions with our authorities or with the foreign ones, in order to obtain the necessary measures for the preservation, storage, sale or restitution of those goods or their value;
h) to validly conclude, on behalf of the State, or in the name of the individuals who gave their consent, all the documents and conventions necessary for the liquidation and to proceed with the formalities of their execution;
i) to rent the premises necessary for the storage and preservation of objects in the pavilion;
j) to ensure the objects stored against risks and to organize their security, being able to hire the necessary personnel;
k) to establish in New York, apart from the Cultural Center and the Romanian Church in this city, a section of the propaganda museum for the American continent, according to the provisions of the regulations drafted by the Commissioner General of the exhibition, according to the journal of the Council of Ministers of June 6, 1938;
l) to choose and appoint the basic personnel, and to approve the liquidation expenses;

Art. 6 – In order to liquidate the pavilion and the objects included in it, the Commission will create two compartments, one for the assets of the State, and the other for those of individuals.

Art. 7 – The Romanian State, through the Ministry of National Economy, donates:

a) To the University Institution American International College in Springfield, the material – marble and alabaster – resulting from the demolition of the pavilion, as well as the dioramas of the pavilion, so that this institution can use them to build a Romanian-style auditorium and museum; the entire expense regarding the demolition of the pavilion and the transport of the materials will be incurred by this;
b) To the University of Pittsburgh-Pennsylvania, the furniture and objects that the Commission will find necessary for the Romanian room in this University.

Art. 8 – The Commission, through the Romanian Consulate General in New York, will make the necessary forms and conclude the documents based on which the assets shown in the previous article will be transferred.

Art. 9 – The Commission will also decide on the opportunity to sell or transport to the country or to another State the objects from the pavilion belonging to the State or the art galleries and which will not be stored in the section of the propaganda museum from New York.

The works of art will not be sold under any circumstances.

All the fittings that cannot be used for the section of the propaganda museum that will be established in New York will be mandatorily sold at once.

If these objects are sold, the Commission will comply with the State's public accounting law and the law of public patrimony, insofar as these laws are not contrary to the American laws or as they are not impossible to be applied. The sale price will in no case be less than the valuation contained in the inventory.

Art. 10 – If these objects are sold, the Commission will intervene alongside the governmental and financial authorities in the U.S. so that the measures blocking the Romanian goods or storehouses may be lifted.

The earned cash will be registered with the Romanian Legation, from where it will be released only with the approval of the Ministry of National Economy.

Art. 11 – The expenses incurred for the operation of the Commission, as well as for the establishment of the section of the propaganda museum in New York, will be covered from the remainder of the fund of the Commissioner General in charge with the *New York World's Fair*, as well as, and if necessary, from extraordinary loans from the general budget of the State.

Soldiers of the *Associated Press*. Cultural Negotiations in American War Correspondents' Reports from Romania (1939–1940)*

Carmen Andraș

This paper analyses the intercultural negotiations between the American war correspondent Robert St. John (1902–2003) and those he met along his European itinerary to or from Romania from 1939 to 1940. I follow his evolution from a self-centered writer to a dedicated journalist in the Romanian context. I focus here on Robert St. John's World War Two reports since he was one of the most gifted Associated Press correspondents who decided to settle and work as a correspondent from Romania. St. John's reports about the general development of war in Europe, particularly about Romania's social, cultural, and political life, are characterized by remarkable attention to detail, narrative eloquence, and evocative aptitude. St. John's Romanian reports are generously synthesized in four chapters in his *War Correspondent* volume, representing about 244 out of 283 pages.[1] He was a gifted writer and author of twenty-three books.[2] In his turn, Robert Parker, the AP bureau chief in Budapest, who hired St. John, another talented and prolific writer

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1 Robert St. John, *Foreign Correspondent* (New York: Doubleday & CO, 1957).

2 Douglas Martin, "Robert St. John, 100, Globe-Trotting Reporter and Author," *The New York Times* (February 8, 2003), Accessed May, 9 2023, https://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/08/us/robert-st-john-100-globe-trotting-reporter-and-author.html.

and reporter, immortalized his traumatic war experience in a book titled *Headquarters Budapest*, with several chapters dedicated to Romania.[3] (Fig. 1)

This study belongs to my extended research on the interwar American war correspondents, whose reports were published in volumes and dedicated considerable space to describing their Romanian experience.[4] Among my second sources published in Romania, the most relevant study belongs to the American historian and diplomat Ernest H. Latham, Jr., "Byzantium's last blossom: Anglo-American Journalism in Bucharest, 1939–1941," in the volume titled *Timeless and Transitory. 20th Century Relations between Romania and the English-Speaking World* and prefaced by American historian Paul Michelson.[5] Nicolae Dascălu has also covered the presence of American war journalists but from the perspective of state censorship.[6] Among my foreign secondary sources, I mention *Breaking News: How the Associated Press Has Covered War, Peace and Everything Else,*[7] *Journalism's Roving Eye. A History of American Foreign Reporting,*[8] *Reporting the War: The Journalistic Coverage of World War II*[9] and *Encyclopedia of American Journalism.*[10] My first sources include

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[3] Robert Parker, *Headquarters Budapest* (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Reinhart, INC., 1944).

[4] For more details see Carmen Andraș, "Identity Negotiations: American War Correspondent Leigh White and the Partition of Transylvania (1939–1940)," *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai"* XXV (2022): 172–99; Idem, "Crossing the Borders of Cultures: The First Wave of American War Correspondents in Romania and the Transylvanian Case (1916 – Early 1930s)," in *Crossing Borders: Insights into the Cultural and Intellectual History of Transylvania (1848–1948*, eds. Carmen Andraș, Cornel Sigmirean (Cluj Napoca: Argonaut & Gatineau: Symphologic Publishing, 2016), 199–232.

[5] Ernest H. Latham, Jr., "Byzantium's Last Blossom: Anglo-American Journalism in Bucharest, 1939–1941," in *Timeless and transitory. 20th Century Relations Between Romania and the English-Speaking World* (Bucharest: Editura Vremea, 2012), 116–29.

[6] Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică: 1919–1939* (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 1998), 124.

[7] Reporters of the Associated Press, *Breaking News: How the Associated Press Has Covered War, Peace and Everything Else* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007).

[8] John Maxwell Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye. A History of American Foreign Reporting* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009).

[9] Frederick S. Voss, *Reporting the War: The Journalistic Coverage of World War II* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).

[10] Stephen L. Vaughn, *Encyclopedia of American Journalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

an extended list of 20 American war journalists whose analyses of the Romanian war context are included in books: 3 First War I American reporters with activities related to Russia; about 20 interwar and World War Two American correspondents for the *Chicago Daily News, Chicago Tribune*, the *Nation*, the *United Press*, the *Associated Press*, *Christian Monitor*, *Newsweek,* and others. Meanwhile, I have added new volumes published by editors or by the correspondents ʻdescendants to my primary sources.

The significant presence of American journalists in Romania during World War Two offers a rich source of historical, military, and diplomatic information on Romania and an inspiring source of cultural and social imagology.

Robert St. John′s description of the 1939–1940 period in Europe and particularly in Romania, comprises some of the most dramatic European World War Two moments, mentioned in all contemporary American correspondents′ reports: 15–16 March 1939, the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, after the Hungarian invasion of Czechoslovakia′s Carpatho-Ukraine; 23 August 1939, the German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact (the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact); 1 September 1939, the German invasion of Poland; 3 September 1939, England and France declare war on Germany; 17 September 1939 the Soviet invasion of Poland; 21 September 1939, the assassination of Romania′s Prime Minister Armand Călinescu by the Legionnaires as retribution for Codreanu′s death; 27 September 1939, the German occupation of Warsaw; 29 September 1939, the division of Poland the Germans and the Soviets; 10 May 1940, the German invasion of France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands; August 1940, the Vienna Award and the partition of Transylvania; September 1940 – January 1941, the rise of the far-right National Legionary State and Antonescu′s military dictatorship; 23 November 1940, Romania joining the Axis Powers; the Legionnaire Rebellion and the 21–23 January 1941 Bucharest Pogrom against the Jews. (Fig. 2–3)

With the progress of war between 1939 and 1941, American awareness of the Balkan geostrategic, military, and diplomatic importance grew beyond US economic interests in the region. America′s neutrality and isolationism

were challenged.[11] After advancing in Western Europe, the Germans headed to Eastern Europe, where their influence clashed with Russia. An early-1940 *Evening Star* article tried to explain the Balkan dilemma: "With Russia pushing West, as Germany pushed East," one of the foremost American concerns was: "What's going to happen to the Balkans?"[12] According to the article, they played a historical role in almost every military conflict in the region. Although not openly labeling them as "the powder keg of Europe," the author described the Balkans as "the path of conquest from Europe east and Asia west," "the birthplace of the World War," and "the scene of some of its most decisive battles." The issue was not their location but their importance to Germany and no less to the Allies and the United States: the discovery of the oil supplies in Romania and the abundance of agricultural products made the Balkans "a fuel tank and a bread basket," mainly for Germany. In these circumstances, Romania was in the "hottest spot" for its oil deposits.[13]

This situation explains an increasing number of American war correspondents in the region, particularly Romania, even if different press agencies' headquarters were established in neighboring countries.

To All the Other: Cultural Negotiations Between the Self and the Other

American journalist Robert St. John "humbly" dedicated his book *Foreign Correspondent* (Fig. 4–5) to people about whom he felt indebted or remorseful, named "All the Other Generally Anonymous – Often Persecuted – Sometimes Murdered – "Tipsters."[14] The dedication synthesizes the impact of war and trauma on the author's negotiation between the heart-wrenching reality of

[11] Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation. A Concise History of the American People*, vol. II: From 1865 (New York and London: Overture Books, Mc. Graw-Hill, Inc., 1993), 717.

[12] *Evening Star,* March 17, 1940, 15. See *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. Accessed May, 9 2023, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1940–03–17/ed-1/seq-121/.

[13] Ibid.

[14] St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*.

war and the determination to overcome its inhuman character through empathy. I analyze Robert St. John′s inter-cultural negotiation between the self and the other, subjectivity and objectivity, imagination and reality, emotion and detachment. The resulting interrelationship between ideology and culture, journalism and history and/or literature describes his writing as "creative non-fiction,"[15] a classification recently ascribed to journalism for its tendency to blur the line between opinion and fact or assertion in dispatching the news.[16] Dictionary entries define fact as "something having actual existence," while an opinion is a "form of belief not quite as strong as positive knowledge."[17] Consequently, "facts are existing bits of known and verifiable information," whereas "opinions even though based on facts, transcend the absolute certainty of facts and incorporate varying degrees of speculation, confidence, and judgement." Most "theories and generalizations" are then "forms of opinion."[18] Motivated by the challenging circumstances of war and conflict, Robert St. John negotiated between his personal feelings and emotions like sympathy or antagonism and hate, restraint or emotional states (fear, panic, regret, remorse, sadness, guilt or contempt) with the professional journalist′s self-control, objectivity, detachment, and impartiality. Due to the inherent reverence for democracy, the American observer could not hide his repulsion towards extremism and totalitarian stifling of humanity. In such circumstances, "the dimensions of literature breach boundaries to conform to the possibilities of generating discourses on issues of humanitarian concerns."[19] Imagination and emotion thus challenged ideological, political, diplomatic, and military facts and permeated his writing with literary features,

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[15] Aleksandra Ziółkowska-Boehm, "Literary Journalism, Storytelling, or Literature of Fact," *The Polish Review* 62, no. 3 (2017): 79–90, Accessed May, 9 2023, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/polishreview.62.3.0079.

[16] Leo M. Schell, "Distinguishing Fact from Opinion," *Journal of Reading* 11, no. 1 (1967): 5–9, Accessed May, 9 2023, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40009335.

[17] Ibid, 5.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Mohammed Osman Abdul Wahab, Mohammed Nurul Islam, Nisar Ahmad Koka, "Dimensions of Literature and Journalism, History," *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 9, no. 12 (December 2019): 1474–9.

even though "journalism has often been charged with being the 'graveyard' of literature." The author's style is presumably "vitiated," his expression is "reversed," and his vocabulary is "vulgarized."[20]

As historian Donald Cameron Watt asserted, the history of war is not a "story of men whose actions are determined by large, impersonal forces." These forces were driven by people. And the history of war is a history of humanity. "Impersonal forces" are just figures of speech in any narrative, historical inquiry, or journalistic report to the extent that they were part of the individual observers' representations:

> History is lived through and, for the fortunate, survived by people. Their actions, their failures to act, their hesitations, their perceptions, their judgments, their misunderstandings, misperceptions and mistakes act and interact upon each other across political, social and cultural divisions. So far as space allows, the narrative tries to record the political, social and cultural divisions.[21]

Consequently, cultural negotiations between the self and the other, between disciplines and methodologies, between the author's cultural background and different cultures make a war correspondent's reports balanced, informative, and subjective at the same time, in other words, enlightening, vivid, and accessible. Reports were drafted with the target readership in mind so the tone could not be restricted to politics, ideologies, and decision-making.

Kings of the Hill

During World War Two, American correspondents became undeniable leaders in journalism. They grew into worldwide "kings of the hill," as Deborah Cohen concluded. "Shouting questions in ministerial briefing rooms," "bragging in bars," they represented "the largest contingent of foreign reporters in most world capitals:"

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[20] Cliff Sandahl "Journalism and Literature," *Prairie Schooner* 3, no. 1 (1929): 54–56, Accessed May, 9 2023, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40622025.

[21] Donald Cameron Watt, *How War Came. The Immediate Origins of the Second World War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), XIII.

> "Their outsize role doesn't accord with the old stereotype of an isolationist United States, barricaded behind its oceans. However, it helps to explain the monumental turnabout in the 1940s, when the United States went from hemispheric power to global hegemon."[22]

Before American military headquarters covered the earth, the war correspondents traveled with speed all over the world: Europe, Asia, and the United States, "colliding at warp speed:"

> Armed with a peculiarly American obsession with personalities, they sounded an early warning about the rise of the dictators. At a time when appeasement and isolationism held sway, theirs were the voices prophesying the Second World War, garnering audiences in the millions for their efforts. The storm, they said, was just over the horizon. It was high time for Americans to engage with foreign affairs.[23]

In the 1920s, American newspapers hired their countrymen to report from abroad. Until then, American papers promoted "star 'special' correspondents" in war situations, but for systematic dispatches from abroad, they depended on "wire services" such as Reuters, United Press, or the Associated Press, which in turn used local press news. The tremendous human losses and the decisive American role played in World War One changed the papers' philosophy:

> Now Americans required their own eyes and ears abroad. Never again would the Europeans, particularly the British, trick naïve Yankees into a costly Continental entanglement. Seven papers were building up extensive foreign news services: the Chicago Daily News, the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Christian Science Monitor, the Chicago Tribune, and the Philadelphia Evening Ledger.[24]

The Associated Press (AP) is an outstanding American press agency with a long history since 1846 and with a remarkable contribution to World War Two history, covering "war, peace, and everything else:"

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[22] Deborah Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial: The Reporters Who Took on a World at War* (New York: Random House Publishing Group, 2022), XXI.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid, 38.

> In the decades since, AP has been first to tell the world of many of history′s most important moments, from the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the bombing of Pearl Harbor to the fall of the shah of Iran and the death of Pope John Paul II. Many AP journalists have given their lives in this pursuit of the news.[25]

The American World War Two Associated Press journalists described "the spirit of the time" as "the mood in Danzig on the eve of the first shots." They followed the development of war "right through to the discovery of the concentration camps in Germany" and the "jubilation felt by American witnesses to the Japanese surrender."[26] (Fig. 6)

In Ray Moseley′s opinion, American war correspondents embodied "a cross-section of societies from which they came:" some "urban sophisticates" with academic backgrounds, others from "rural hinterlands," who had rarely traveled beyond their country, some "talented linguists," others "with no knowledge of foreign languages," experienced war correspondents or novices. They had in common "a sense of adventure and curiosity," "a strong sense of patriotism," and a disposition to experience dangerous adventures and risk of death. Some served during the war′s entire length, some for a shorter period.[27] "By the end of the war, Moseley concluded, 2.2 per cent of American reporters had been killed and 6.8 per cent wounded, compared with 2.5 per cent and 4.2 per cent for the American military."[28]

"War correspondents are society′s window onto the battlefield," concluded historian Steven Casey. He extended this definition by classifying the literature on war correspondents into four categories:

> First, there are those works that focus on reporters′ output. These are often anthologies containing some of the best, or most influential, writing by one or more big names. Then there are the books that explore war correspondents′

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[25] Thomas Curley, "Preface," in *Breaking News. How the Associated Press Has Covered War, Peace, and Everything Else* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 18.

[26] *World War II. Unforgettable Stories and Photographs by Correspondents of the Associated Press* (New York: The Associated Press, 2018), III.

[27] Ray Moseley, *Reporting War: How Foreign Correspondents Risked Capture, Torture and Death to Cover World War II* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), 19.

[28] Ibid, 20.

> adventures at the front. These tend to be memoir accounts by the reporters themselves, or fast-paced narratives by friendly biographers. The third set of works seeks to uncover the correspondents′ motives and modes of operations.[29]

War correspondents have often been affectionately called "soldiers of the press."[30] (Fig. 7) Nevertheless, Steven Casey specified, unlike the soldiers who were generally drafted, reporters had the choice to stay out of danger at home or to head to remote death-defying warzones:

> Have they gone to the front simply because of the attractions of fame and fortune, or have other factors been at work: the pull of duty, the fear of being considered a shirker, the lure of comradeship? Moreover, while biographers tend to emphasize the individualistic nature of risk-seeking reporters, this third strand of writing places them in a broader context.[31]

Robert St. John′s initial reasons for traveling to Europe were of a personal and mercantile nature. Nonetheless, his education and subsequent experience announced a promising journalistic and writing career.

"Third-Class Ticket to a 'Career'"

St. John attended a high school writing course with Ernest Hemingway, which influenced him as a writer. Detailing St. John′s adventurous spirit, Ray Moseley mentioned that at the end of World War One, at age 16, he hid the truth about his age to register in the Navy. In 1923, after returning from France, Moseley founded the *Cicero Tribune* in Illinois. He became, at twenty-one, "the youngest editor-publisher in the U.S." He published a series of reports on Al Capone′s Cicero actions. Capone later bought his newspaper to "silence" him. It was when St. John joined the Associated Press[32] and covered Franklin D. Roosevelt′s first presidential campaign.

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[29] Steven Casey, "War Correspondents," *Oxford Bibliographies Online*, Accessed May, 9 2023, https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199791279/obo-9780199791279–0088.xml.

[30] See Henry T[ilton] Gorrell, Kenneth Gorrell, *Soldier of the Press: Covering the Front in Europe and North Africa, 1936–1943* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2009).

[31] Casey, "War Correspondents."

[32] Moseley, *Reporting War*, 35.

In 1939, he left the United States to find a job as a journalist in Paris together with his wife: "I had no plan, I merely had a hunch that if war really came and I was on the spot I ought to be able to sell my services to someone…But my real ace in the hole was Rumania:"

> During six years in New England raising chickens, […] and doing other rather odd things to earn a living, I had been too busy to read newspapers or listen to a radio, but I had had a New York friend send me any news items he saw about King Carol and Madame Lupescu, for I was sure that their story would make a good play and I wanted some-day to try to write it, if I could ever find a way to fill in the authentic background. So if this turned out to be another Munich, or if no one grasped at the opportunity to employ an aging but seasoned newspaperman, at least I had enough money to go down to Rumania for long enough to write the Carol-Lupescu play.[33]

But his personal interests would gradually fade before the human tragedy whose witness and direct participant he became. Since the war was approaching and Paris was flooded by foreign reporters, he decided to head east, to Hungary and eventually to Romania.

Preparation for a long-distance journey by train to Budapest was not easy, especially regarding currency. Neither travel itself was a convenient experience for St. John. It was so primarily because he was not prepared to open himself to the other and break the barrier between himself as an American observer and the European, particularly East-European others. One of the barriers was language. Nevertheless, if it did not imply a depreciatory attitude in France, with the amalgam of nationalities met on the train, difference became upsetting. Instead of developing an empathetic attitude toward foreign people, he was *othering* them, if we refer to Edward Sapir's concept, namely *making* them radical others.[34]

The writer St. John had not turned into a fully-fledged reporter yet. It was a piece of emotion-laden literature rather than an objective report:

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[33] St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 15.

[34] See Edward Sapir, *Selected Writings in Language, Culture, and Personality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

> The ride from Paris to Budapest did not tend to endear us to our fellow human beings. Nationalities were all mixed up. Children were crying continuously. Parents were screaming at them in Italian, French, Polish, Serbo-Croat, Slovenian, Turkish, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Spanish, Hungarian, Czech, German, and a few odd languages the sound of which we had never heard before. On European trains there is never any drinking water and we grew very thirsty, for it was still August and hot. We had stupidly for-gotten to provide ourselves with food to last the long journey and had to worry about trying to eat at depot restaurants while engines were being changed.[35]

Nevertheless, this third-class train voyage took him to a remarkable career.

"The Luftwaffe is bombing Warsaw"

"Bearded like an Old Testament prophet,"[36] St. John arrived with his wife in Budapest on the brink of war. "Sitting up with a dying city," they were having trouble understanding the menu at a restaurant, so he had the "inspiration" of consulting the telephone book, where he found "Associated Press." Intercultural communication and negotiation in public spaces like the hotel and restaurant were again hindered by language incompatibility since "everyone from the headwaiter on down seemed to be bilingual, but the two languages of Hungarians were Magyar and German." St. John minimalized his professional choice by taking things *à la légère* with a youthful bravado: "The main reason I went to look for the Associated Press office about noon on Friday, September 1, 1939, was because Eda and I were hungry."[37]

Showing up at the Associated Press office in Budapest, Robert Parker, the AP bureau chief for all of Southeastern Europe, hired him instantly. From that moment on, together, they would face the most tragic moments in the history of Southeastern Europe. After the fall of Romania and Bulgaria, St. John reported from Yugoslavia.[38]

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[35] St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 18.

[36] Moseley, *Reporting War*, 35.

[37] St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 21.

[38] "St. John, Robert," in Mitchel Roth, *Encyclopedia of War Journalism, 1807–2010*, Second Edition (New York: Grey House Publishing, 2010), 320–1.

Meeting Robert Parker brought him down to earth. Suddenly, he felt he had been out of touch with reality until that moment. It was an abrupt progress to maturity and self-awareness.

> 'My God, exclaimed Parker, don't you know? Hey' – and he turned around and addressed the room in general – 'here's a guy who doesn't know there's a war on!'" Parker did not have enough time to teach St. John lessons about a war correspondent's duty and got directly to work: "Never mind. Take off your coat and get to work. We're trying to cover this whole goddamn war right from this room and we're shorthanded.[39]

St. John instantly realized the gravity of the situation and that he had been a sideline observer:

> Germany had invaded Poland. People at this very moment were being killed only a few hundred miles from where I sat. I had read newspapers in Paris which said that if it came it might be the end of civilization, that poison gas and bombs and the secret weapons everyone knew everyone else had might wipe mankind from the face of the earth.[40]

Questions about his role and place in this tragedy began to cross his mind:

> Several times during those first few days of World War II, I wondered whether it was right for me to be here at all, whether I was being true to my belief in non-violence by coming all this way to help report a war. Then the argument would suddenly seem ridiculous and I would answer the small still voice by pointing out that a reporter is merely a man who holds a mirror up to life. His only duty is to see that the mirror conveys a clear and undistorted image.[41]

However, these were half-truths, and he was deluding himself. He would be unable to stay in control, calm, and collected during the two years spent in the Balkans. How could he keep his peace of mind, calmness, courage, and self-mastery seeing the "streams of refugees" trying to escape from Poland over the Carpathians "being caught in the jaws of the military nutcracker?" His fear melted with compassion:

[39] St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 23.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

> The Polish refugees were people to be pitied and tenderly looked after, as all refugees are. But we knew that these were the lucky ones. These were the wealthy who had had automobiles in which they could escape […]. The unfortunates were the ones who had had neither gold nor cars nor any way to escape. We knew their suffering might go on for years. One ominous thing we learned in making a survey of the refugees was that only 2 per cent of those who escaped into Hungary and Rumania were Jews. That meant nearly three million Polish Jews were trapped.[42]

It was Parker's idea to cover the war in Poland, and mainly the siege of Warsaw:

> […] from the cubbyhole of an office on Esterhazy but, after we learned that radio stations in Warsaw and several other Polish cities were still on the air. First he bought the strongest short-wave receiver to be found in Buda- pest. Then he sent Paul Vajda out to try to locate three unemployed Poles who spoke German, French, or English. [43]

While the American correspondents were worried about Warsaw, things were progressing worldwide: France, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada declared war on Germany, "each in its turn and each in its own way."[44] Meanwhile, Budapest "was a place of such infinite charm." They felt it was "sacrilegious" to enjoy themselves while others agonized, but "Budapest cast a spell over us and we were helpless."[45] Budapest was animated, and the American correspondents felt again "under the spell of a living city."[46]

Things were worsening, and so did freedom of speech. There were eight hundred American reporters and "no story to report! It was wonderful to think that no one was being killed, that no other cities were being obliterated as Warsaw had been." They rejoiced for "the sake of humanity."[47] It was again only wishful thinking because, in November, the Associated

[42] Ibid, 39–40.
[43] Ibid, 29–30.
[44] Ibid, 45.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid, 61.

Press cabled its bureaus worldwide that all temporary employees had to quit their jobs. Parker managed to keep St. John on for eleven more days with no salary. Nevertheless, the now-dedicated journalist St. John continued working for two extra months, at least in eight-hour shifts, seven days a week, and writing "dozens of anonymous dispatches and situationers." Parker sent them to New York, and they would be in print in two weeks. Another surprise came when the State Department canceled all American passports. Those reporters with essential European missions were renewed for six months in specific countries. St. John convinced the Budapest consulate to validate his and his wife's passports for Hungary, Romania, Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, and Italy[48]. Their first option was to leave for Istanbul from the port of Constanța. Life there was difficult, devoid of material resources. Hope came by a life-saving cable:

> PRICE AUTHORIZES YOU GO
> BUCHARESTWARD SOONEST AT
> YOUR BUDAPEST SALARY PARKER[49]

Bucharest and the *War of Nerves*

At a superficial level, Bucharest seemed even more cheerful and nonchalant than late-1939 Budapest. In March of 1940, Romania's capital was "still gay and noisy and devil-may-care" as if thinking that the "storm would pass her by:"

> […] and so Bucharestians were still eating more than was good for them (three or four kinds of meat at a meal, for those who could afford it) and drinking too much (not just the local plum brandy called *tsuica,* but also scotch whisky, German beer, and French wines) and indulging themselves in any other sensual way they could think of.[50]

[48] Ibid, 61–62.
[49] Ibid, 76.
[50] Ibid, 77.

The city's sophisticated restaurants and stunning boulevards were as divorced from the reality of war as Budapest's heterotopias. As St. John observed, Romania was a different space, made of disparate ingredients, equal to each other and yet different. He referred to the English language representations of Romania as a Balkan Ruritania setting for "musical comedies and light operas." His opinion was more balanced and closer to the truth since "as with all extremes of praise or censure," these characterizations were exaggerated.[51] But not only English stereotypes targeted Romania: The French described it in "nine bitter words: 'Fleurs sans odeur, hommes sans honneur, femmes sans pudeur' [The flowers have no scent, the men have no honor, the women have no shame]."[52]

After a short social and cultural preamble, St. John returned to his professional investigations. On his arrival in Bucharest, "the curtain had already gone up on the diplomatic struggle which the correspondents labeled the 'war of nerves.'"[53] His thorough documentation of the historical, political, and social background prepared him for awareness, discernment, and insight into the dramatic events he witnessed.

A couple of months before St. John's arrival, Germany had required the right to "buy 90 per cent of all Rumania's oil, wheat, copper, bauxite, timber, chromium, and other raw materials." In exchange, Romania would obtain "manufactured articles," including such "non-essentials" as typewriters, binoculars, harmonicas, and "aspirin." People were unhappy with such demands: "We have already received enough aspirin," someone told St. John, "to cure all the headaches we know the Germans will cause us!" he continued ironically.[54] St. John also highlighted Romania's "natural orientation" to the English and French arts, literature, and culture in general. Romania dreaded the idea of becoming "a mere colony of the Reich." She considered the Soviet Union, at that time Germany's ally, "her natural enemy,

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51 Ibid, 77–78.
52 Ibid, 81.
53 Ibid, 82.
54 Ibid, 82–83.

after Hungary."[55] Nevertheless, in late 1940, the Nazi Army officers came to Bucharest to organize "General Staff conferences with the Rumanians," and then the first German divisions arrived in Rumania. Every one of "the thousands of German soldiers spoke enough Rumanian at least to flatter the local populace." The German Minister, Otto Fabricius, was assisted by a "small army of spies, economic experts, Gestapo agents, saboteurs." They were accompanied by the so-called "tourists:"

> They wore ill-fitting civilian clothes, carried a pair of binoculars over one shoulder and a Leica camera over the other, and fooled no one. They were high-ranking officers of the Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe and looked every inch of it.[56]

According to Robert Parker, "clubfooted Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels" was putting pressure on American correspondents in the Balkans. He referred to excellent AP correspondent Robert St. John, who was several times "threatened with expulsion:"

> Each time, Parker specified, I discovered, on telephoning the Rumanian propaganda minister to protest, that a member of the Rumanian secret police had issued a false report on St. John's activities. Each time the report was inspired by a telephone call from Berlin. The call invariably followed publication of his news beats on German doings in Rumania.[57]

Parker admitted that "directing Associated Press correspondents in Eastern and Southeastern Europe was no picnic." Governments in the area grew "hypersensitive" to press dispatches because the German minister habitually "pounded the table and threatened dire consequences" unless the Americans were silenced. Consequently, Parker specified, he had to organize his AP correspondents in Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey "on a virtually wartime espionage footing." They invented "code words to get by the telephone censors." When St. John, for example, wished to share something about King Carol, they were speaking

[55] Ibid, 83.
[56] Ibid, 85.
[57] Parker, *Headquarters Budapest*, 109–10.

of "the Boy Scout." Mme Lupescu turned into "Mary Smith." As for Coler, who was "subject to pressure as a Rumanian citizen," they mentioned him as "our man." The German minister was "the monkey." This system was also applied when talking about Italy and Germany: "Mussolini was referred to in letters and on the telephone as 'Armstrong,' and Hitler was 'that man or just 'Petey.'"[58] Yet, despite these threats, "the American public was better and more quickly informed on Eastern European affairs than any other nation in the world." Additionally, local AP correspondents like Vayda in Budapest and Coler in Bucharest had more reasons to "hate the Nazis" because they were Jewish. All AP correspondents were respectable professionals:

> Max Merzljak, in Belgrade, was one of the few democrats in Yugoslavia. Boyan Choukanoff, who served us in Sofia, Parker clarifies, was a graduate of Columbia University. Dmitri Travlos, in Athens, had fought the grim Metaxas dictatorship for years, just barely escaping the prison islands. These men, with Benyovsky, constantly risked their lives to send the real news to the American public.[59]

St. John's well-documented reports were increasingly dramatic and reflected his concern: the history of the Iron Guard, or the Legion of the Archangel Michael, founded in 1927 by the fanatic young Romanian, Corneliu Codreanu; his trial and his execution together with thirteen of his legionnaire followers; the assassination of Armand, Călinescu and the execution of the legionnaires' leaders.

St. John owed most of his daily information to a Jewish editor of "Journalul," Alex Coler, who supplied him with detailed accounts of the general developments, particularly about the Jewish community's situation in Romania. They avoided Romanian censorship by using code names. The Romanian assistant would also influence St. John's progress toward maturity, empathy, and generosity. Coler would earn St. John's respect and sympathy, but as St. John's book dedication reveals, he would have endless regrets for not having helped Coler enough when the latter tried to escape the atrocities

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[58] Ibid, 110.

[59] Ibid, 111.

against the Jews. The Athenée Palace was the unofficial quarter of the foreign correspondents, St. John included, and their "tipsters," such as Coler. The heterotopic Athenée Palace, with more than fifty foreign correspondents housed at any time and thoroughly described by St. John and all the American reporters sending dispatches from Bucharest, will represent the subject of a different study.

St. John did not pay much attention to gossip about King Carol and Madame Lupescu. Instead, he dedicated pages to Carol's complicated relations with the Legion, his September 1940 abdication, culminating with the coronation of Mihai, "who had no voice in the matter whatsoever," and Antonescu's authoritarian political measures.[60] Two disastrous events in 1939–1940 Romania profoundly impacted St. John. Among them, the November 1940 earthquake inspired memorable pages.

Earthquake Tremors in Bucharest

In October 1940, St. John and his wife felt the first trepidations of the Vrancea earthquake as if to enhance their "state of depression." People became nervous despite the seismologists' efforts to calm their fears by reassuring them that it was "only a third- or fourth-grade tremor."[61] Then, on November 10, it proved its destructive power. For a few seconds, "the night was full of a great thundering," and they heard strident noises around them. Carlton Building crumbled in a whirlwind of cement and dust. All foreign correspondents sent dispatches from Bucharest to announce Carlton's collapse. The building was on Boulevard Brătianu, close to British correspondent Clare Hollingworth's residence. Correspondents disagreed about its height. American correspondent Leigh White counted fourteen stories, including the lookout tower. St. John called it thirteen, out of which a theater occupied the first three floors, and the rest of the ten floors had

[60] St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 159.
[61] Ibid, 186.

apartments.[62] The building counted two basements, a ground floor and 12 floors, a cinema hall in the back, two wings with a ground floor, five floors on Brătianu Boulevard, and a ground floor plus 3–4 floors on Regală Street. It was the "tallest reinforced concrete building in Romania and an avant-garde architectural work in the epoch."[63] (Fig. 8–9)

Counting the victims of the earthquake was a difficult attempt. In any case, between three hundred and five hundred people were sleeping in those apartments. In the basement air raid shelter with a phone connected to the police station, someone called for help. There were living people who had to be dug out. "The building cracked wide open," said someone in Romanian, "like cut with a knife. It stood there in two pieces for a couple of seconds." The witness could hear "horrible yells and screams."[64] St. John was also overwhelmed:

> Finally they started digging in the mound of white debris. Several times they found whole rooms intact. Once they found a bridge table with the cards, the glasses off tsuica, and the money all in place, as if nothing had happened. But the four men sitting around the table were dead […]. There was the mother who had thrown her body across the crib to protect her tiny baby. The mother was dead; the baby lived. One by one they pulled out the bodies. But they were doing it so inefficiently that finally in disgust the German Army took over, bringing in great anti-aircraft searchlights, bulldozers, and other equipment […].[65]

The city looked as after a bombardment: many streets were jammed with debris. At the Continental Hotel, a ceiling had crumbled. The U.S. Legation was damaged, and so was the Royal Palace. After only four hours, the international phone lines were working. Dispatches could be sent to New York, Chicago, Denver, or Los Angeles, "plenty of time to catch the

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62 Ibid, 187.

63 See Emil-Sever Georgescu, "The Collapse of Carlton Building in Bucharest at November 10, 1940 Earthquake: An Analysis Based on Recovered Images," in *The 1940 Vrancea Earthquake. Issues, Insights and Lessons Learnt. Springer Natural Hazards,* eds. R. Vacareanu, C. Ionescu (New York: Springer Natural Hazards, 2016), Accessed May, 9 2023, https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978–3-319–29844–3_4#citeas

64 St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 188–9.

65 Ibid, 189.

frontpages of most Sunday papers."[66] The news was spread all over the United States:

> The real story drifted in all day from around the country. Whole villages leveled. Tremors continuing. One thousand to two thousand dead. Oil-refinery chimneys on the ground. King Mihai and Queen Mother Helen unhurt at the summer palace at Sinaia. Carlton disaster due to faulty construction resulting from bribery. One hundred prisoners dead in a penitentiary. Head of company which built Carlton commits suicide.[67]

It was difficult to discern truth from falsehood. False news was omnipresent as it is today. Associated Press New York started "bombarding" the journalists with "rumors to check," reports to authorize or reject: "BBC says Ploiesti oil wells on fire," for example. Luckily, the oil wells were functioning, but BBC kept quoting a British correspondent who used the story as anti-Nazi propaganda. The same happened with another London paper, which announced that hundreds of German planes had to be grounded because of the earthquake. It was understandable that people in London hoped it was true since the Battle of Britain reached its peak. Unhappily, the truth was that the flow of oil to Germany continued with little interruption. Nevertheless, such reports had to be checked and transmitted by phone with additional denials.[68]

Like a miracle, forty-eight hours after the collapse of the Carlton, voices were heard over the shelter phone again. Coal miners were finally transported on the spot and started digging tunnels leading to the shelter. Tragically, a blast in the fuel tank of the central heating system, "a flood from the bursting of a water tank," and "fires set off in the wreckage by the careless use of acetylene torches" put an end to the rescue mission and the people trapped in the shelter could not escape. Around a dozen people were taken alive from the debris on the second day. The digging continued for a week. The Carlton operation was a "macabre sight:"

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid, 190.

[68] Ibid.

> […] men covered with plaster dust that made their faces death white, working in the blue-white glare of the anti-aircraft lights, trying to sort out pieces of bodies from the rubble being shoveled into trucks…It took Bucharest a long time to get back to normal. For weeks there were debris everywhere one looked. We wondered what could possibly happen next. Except for London, no city in the world had been on the front pages of American newspapers in getting tired of it. But now we were getting tired of it. We hoped that the violence of man and the violence of nature were over, at least for a while.[69]

It is among the most accurate representations of this natural calamity happening throughout a human calamity, World War Two. Also present in Bucharest at that time, St. John's colleagues, Countess Waldeck, American correspondent for *Newsweek*, in her volume entitled *Atheneé Palace*,[70] and Leigh White, American correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune* and author of *The Long Balkan Night*,[71] offered moving descriptions of this tragedy. St. John perceived this catastrophe and its social, cultural, and political consequences more as a participant in this tragedy than as a detached witness. While Leigh White and Waldeck's accounts also insist on the panic induced among the clients of the Atheneé Palace Hotel, St. John descended immediately onto the streets among ordinary people.

It took only two weeks of calmness before violent events again put Bucharest on the front page worldwide. It was as if the earthquake generated a new catastrophe, this time a human tragedy.

The Miracle of Doftana

After a couple of weeks, St. John was again the active, passionate, and experienced correspondent from a county torn apart by natural disasters and internal contention. To comprehend the significance of the events, he investigated the Legion's history. He went back to a cold November night in 1938, when Codreanu and his thirteen lieutenants were taken from Doftana

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[69] Ibid, 191.

[70] R.G Waldeck, *Athene Palace Bucharest. Hitler's "New Order" Comes to Rumania* (London: Constable, 1943), 207–12.

[71] Leigh White, *The Long Balkan Night* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 128–31.

prison to be moved to Jilava but executed on their way in a forest between Bucharest and Ploiești at the orders of Prime Minister Armand Călinescu and silently endorsed by the Palace. The execution squad and the officials involved in the murder swore never to divulge the grave for fear of the legionary vengeance "in an orgy of mysticism, martyrolatry, and hysteria," which might have turned into a "new wave of fratricide."[72] But then, although about a hundred prisoners died in Doftana during the earthquake, the cell where Codreanu had been imprisoned remained "undamaged." The so-called "Miracle of Doftana" revived their interest in the circumstances of their hero's death.[73]

Finally, someone talked: that night in 1938, a police truck arrived at Doftana and Codreanu together with his thirteen followers, "handcuffed," and killed on their way to Jilava prison, in a forest between Bucharest and Ploiesti, "by a firing squad of gendarmes." Then, the corpses were transported to Jilava, where they were buried in a common ditch. To accelerate decomposition, the bodies were "drenched with sulphuric acid," then "a large quantity of quicklime was shoveled over them," and above all, "two tons of fresh concrete were poured into the ditch." After discovering the truth, the Legionnaires went to Jilava, removed the concrete layer, and found the crypt. They even claimed to have identified Codreanu's remains by the three small crosses he wore around his neck and his wedding ring. The chemicals did their work, and little was found besides the piles of mud. This explains the Legionnaires' frustration and their "blood lust." After King Carol's abdication, they determined Antonescu to order the arrest of the sixty-four officials suspected to have contributed to the assassination of their Capitan:[74]

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72 St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 191.

73 During the night of 29/30 November 1938 14 members of the Legion were assassinated in the Tâncăbești forest (between Ploiești and Bucharest). The 14 Legion members were Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the leader of the organization, the Nicadores (3 assassins of Prime-Minister Ion Gheorghe Duca) and the Decemvirs (10 assassins of Mihai Stelescu, Codreanu's rival). See Ilarion Țiu, *Mișcarea Legionară după Corneliu Codreanu* (Bucharest: Editura Vremea, 2007).

74 St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 193.

> Looking down into the open crypt, St. John relates, the legionnaires voted immediate vengeance, so at 3:30 A.M. they stormed the prison, overpowered the guards, took away their keys, found the cells of the sixty-four, awakened them, and then slaughtered them…Then they procured fourteen green-colored coffins decorated with gold, put in them what they called the 'remains' of Codreanu and the thirteen, and hauled them to the Ilie Gorgani Orthodox church in Bucharest. There were a dozen or more Orthodox priests who were Legion members themselves were ordered to chant and pray over the bodies night and day until they were given permission to stop. Another battery of priests was taken out to the ditch beside the prison and ordered to do likewise there.[75]

From that moment, St. John witnessed terrible acts of violence known as the Legionnaire Rebellion, culminating in the January 1941 Bucharest Pogrom against the Jews. The American correspondent recorded the events leading to the dissolution of the National Legionary State. This totalitarian fascist regime governed Romania from September 14, 1940, until February 14, 1941, under the leadership of General Ion Antonescu and in partnership with the Iron Guard, whose ruler was Horia Sima.

Conclusions

In the analysis of the American-Romanian cultural and identity negotiations during World War Two, American correspondents' journalistic missions in Romania highlight the significant presence of the Americans in this space, despite the general opinion that documentary sources for such a cross-cultural imagological study between 1939 and 1941 are very infrequent. I primarily follow Robert St. John's professional and personal evolution toward self-discovery, maturity, expertise, and empathy. As proved by his observations, he is one of the most endowed journalists and a man of character and dedication. He worked for the Associated Press (AP), a remarkable American press agency with a long history and a rich contribution to World War Two history. Among the dramatic events he witnessed as a correspondent in interwar

[75] Ibid.

Romania, I have focused here on the November 1940 earthquake because it is among the rare comprehensive accounts of this calamity in American journalism, except St. John's colleagues, Countess Waldeck, American correspondent for *Newsweek*, and Leigh White, American correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune*. The American war correspondents in Romania offer valuable documentary sources for the history of a dramatic period in the international and particularly in the Romanian context, in an objective, balanced, and generally unbiased manner.

Illustrations

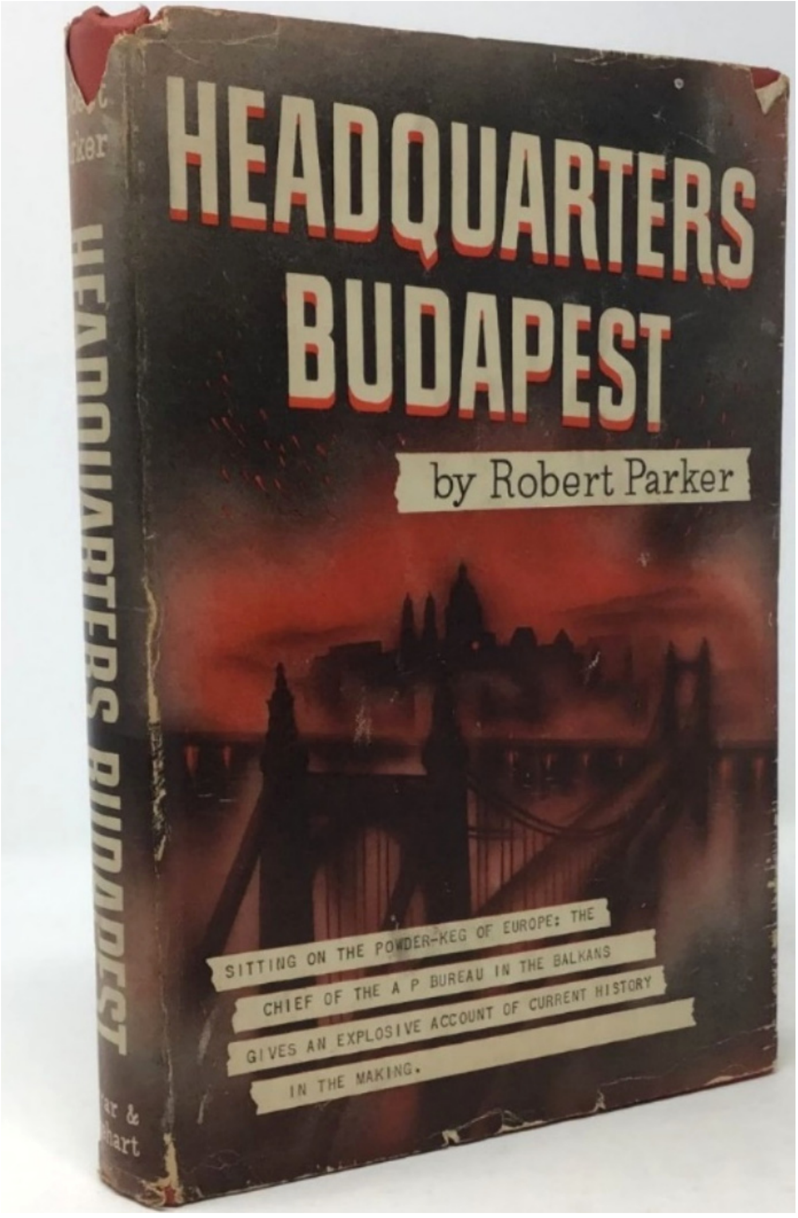


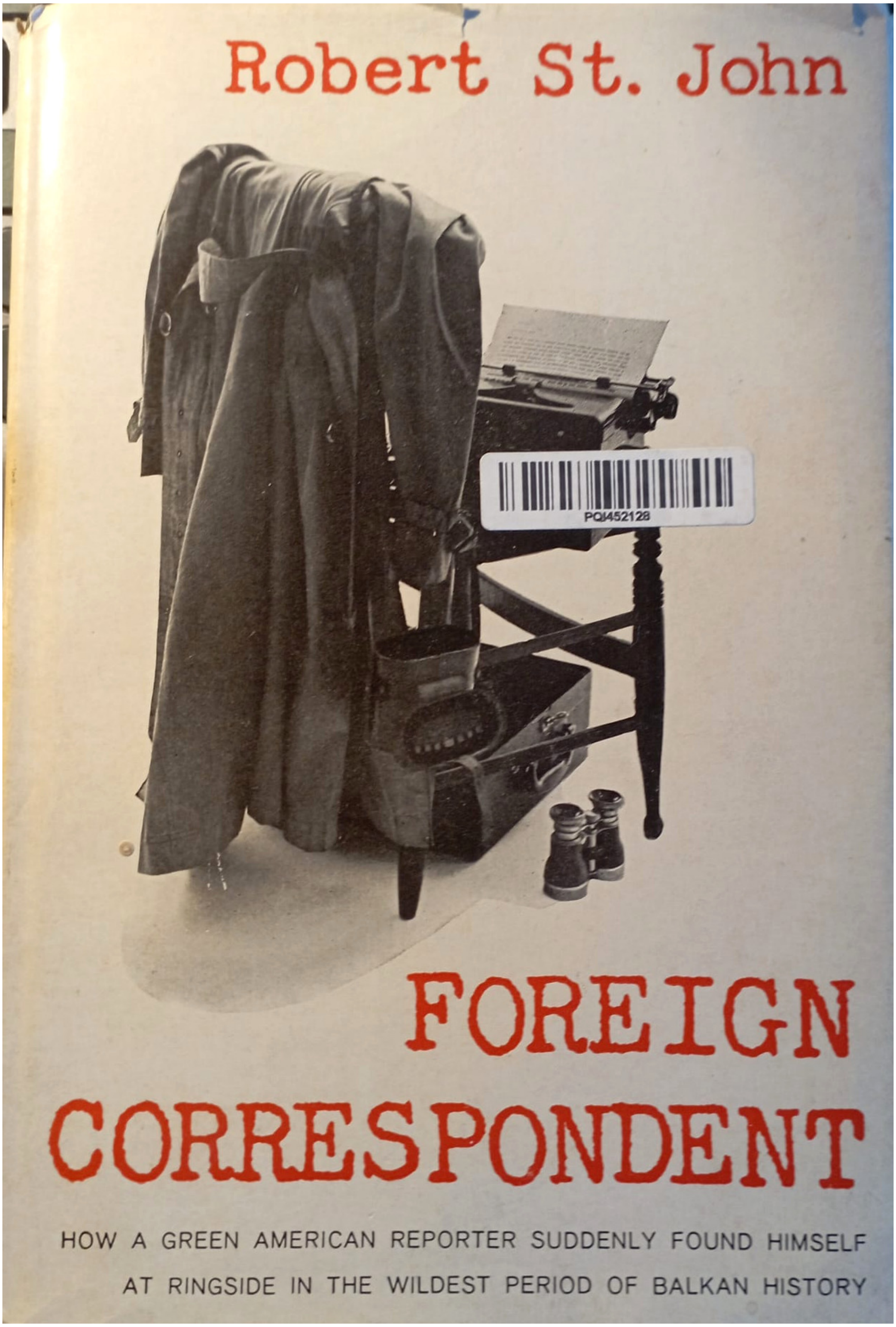
Fig. 1. Front cover, *Headquarters Budapest* by Robert Parker.

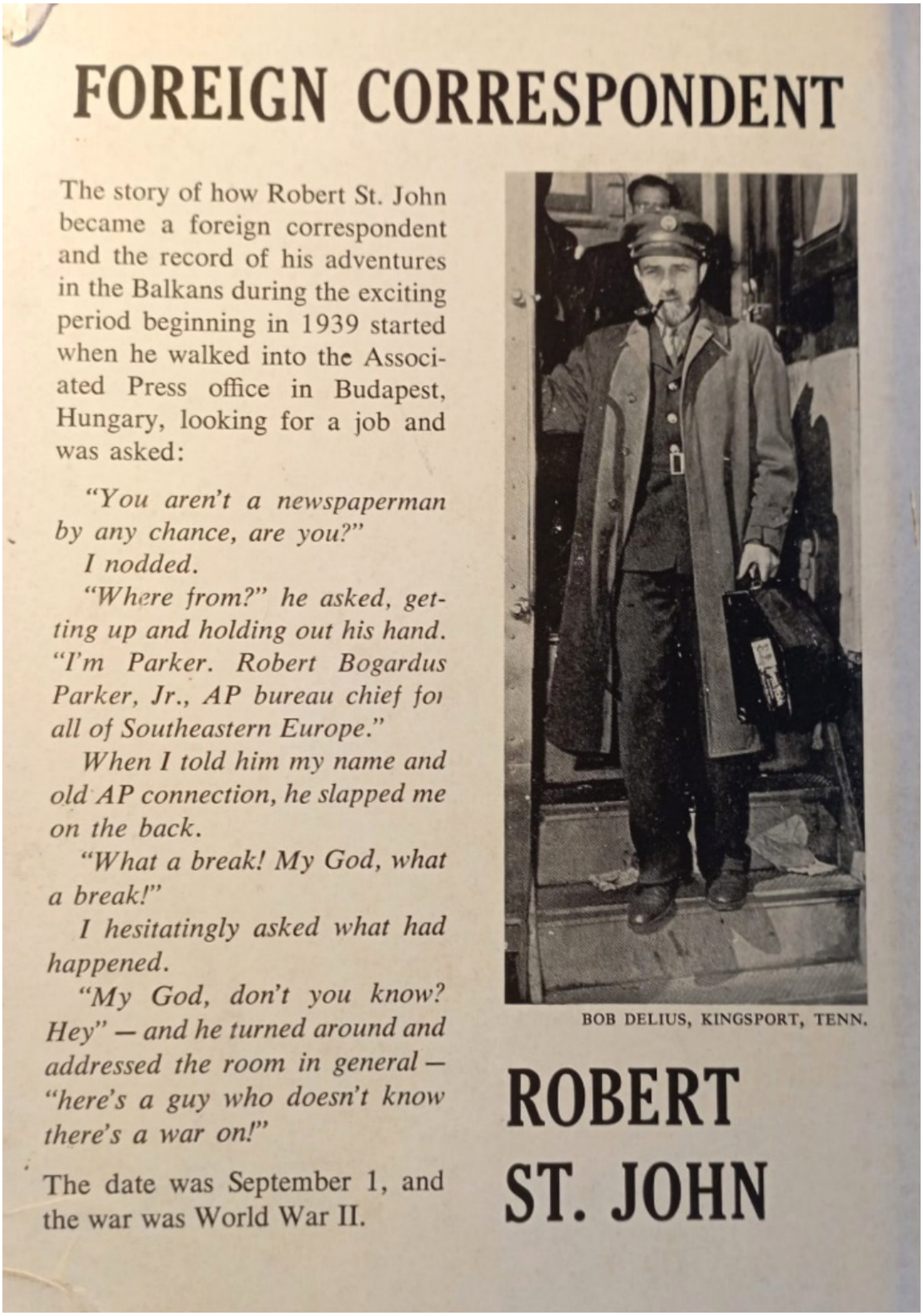


Fig. 2. Robert St. John broadcasting for NBC.
[Public Domain]



Fig. 3. December 1941, Robert St. John at the microphone in the NBC radio newsroom, watching the clock as he prepares to interrupt regular programming with a news bulletin.


Robert St. John
PQI452128
FOREIGN
CORRESPONDENT
HOW A GREEN AMERICAN REPORTER SUDDENLY FOUND HIMSELF
AT RINGSIDE IN THE WILDEST PERIOD OF BALKAN HISTORY



FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The story of how Robert St. John became a foreign correspondent and the record of his adventures in the Balkans during the exciting period beginning in 1939 started when he walked into the Associated Press office in Budapest, Hungary, looking for a job and was asked:

"You aren't a newspaperman by any chance, are you?"

I nodded.

"Where from?" he asked, getting up and holding out his hand. "I'm Parker. Robert Bogardus Parker, Jr., AP bureau chief for all of Southeastern Europe."

When I told him my name and old AP connection, he slapped me on the back.

"What a break! My God, what a break!"

I hesitatingly asked what had happened.

"My God, don't you know? Hey" — and he turned around and addressed the room in general — "here's a guy who doesn't know there's a war on!"

The date was September 1, and the war was World War II.

BOB DELIUS, KINGSPORT, TENN.

ROBERT ST. JOHN

Fig. 4–5. Front and back covers, *Foreign Correspondent*, Robert St. John.

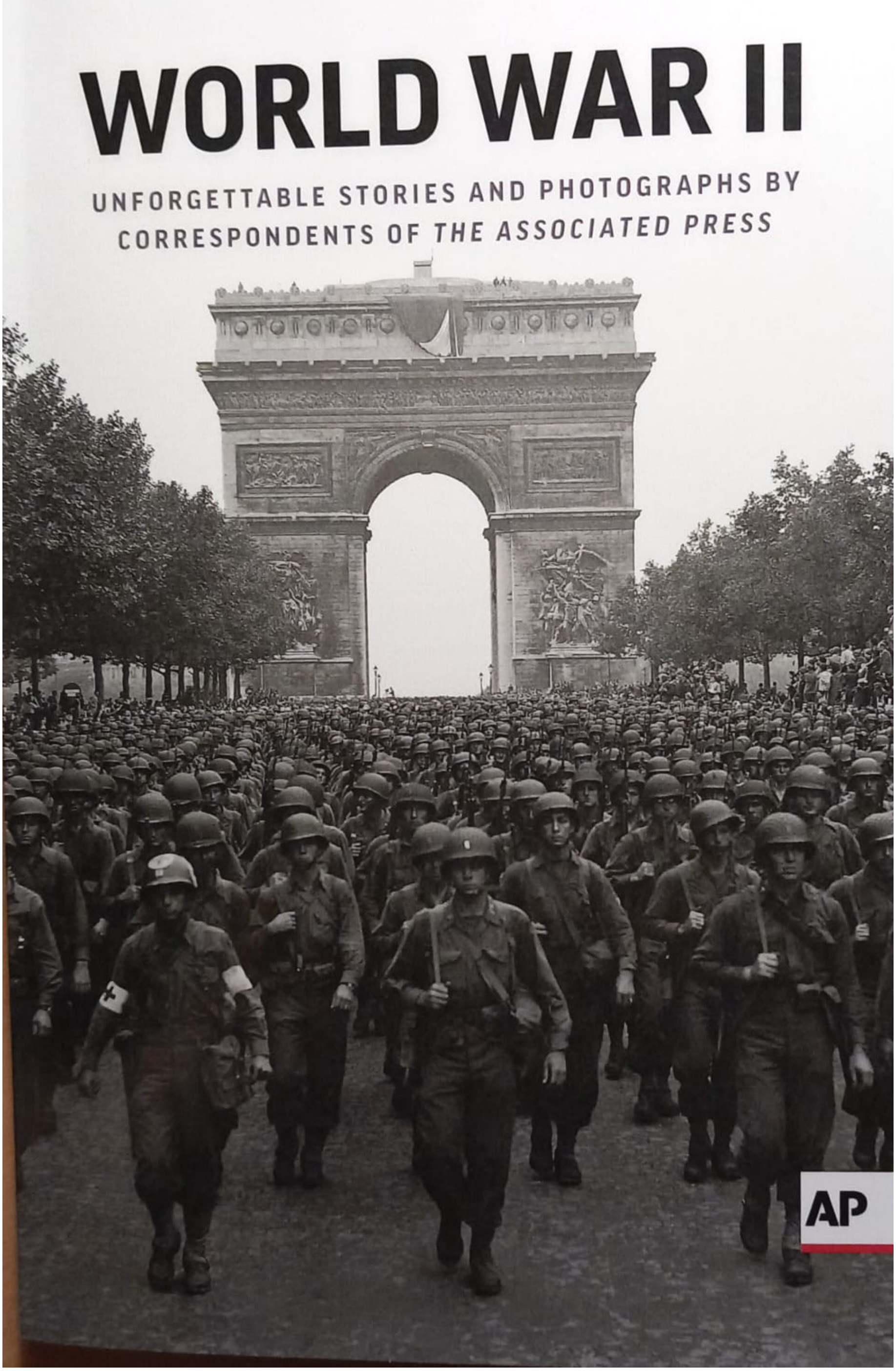


Fig. 6. Front cover, World War II, *Associated Press*.

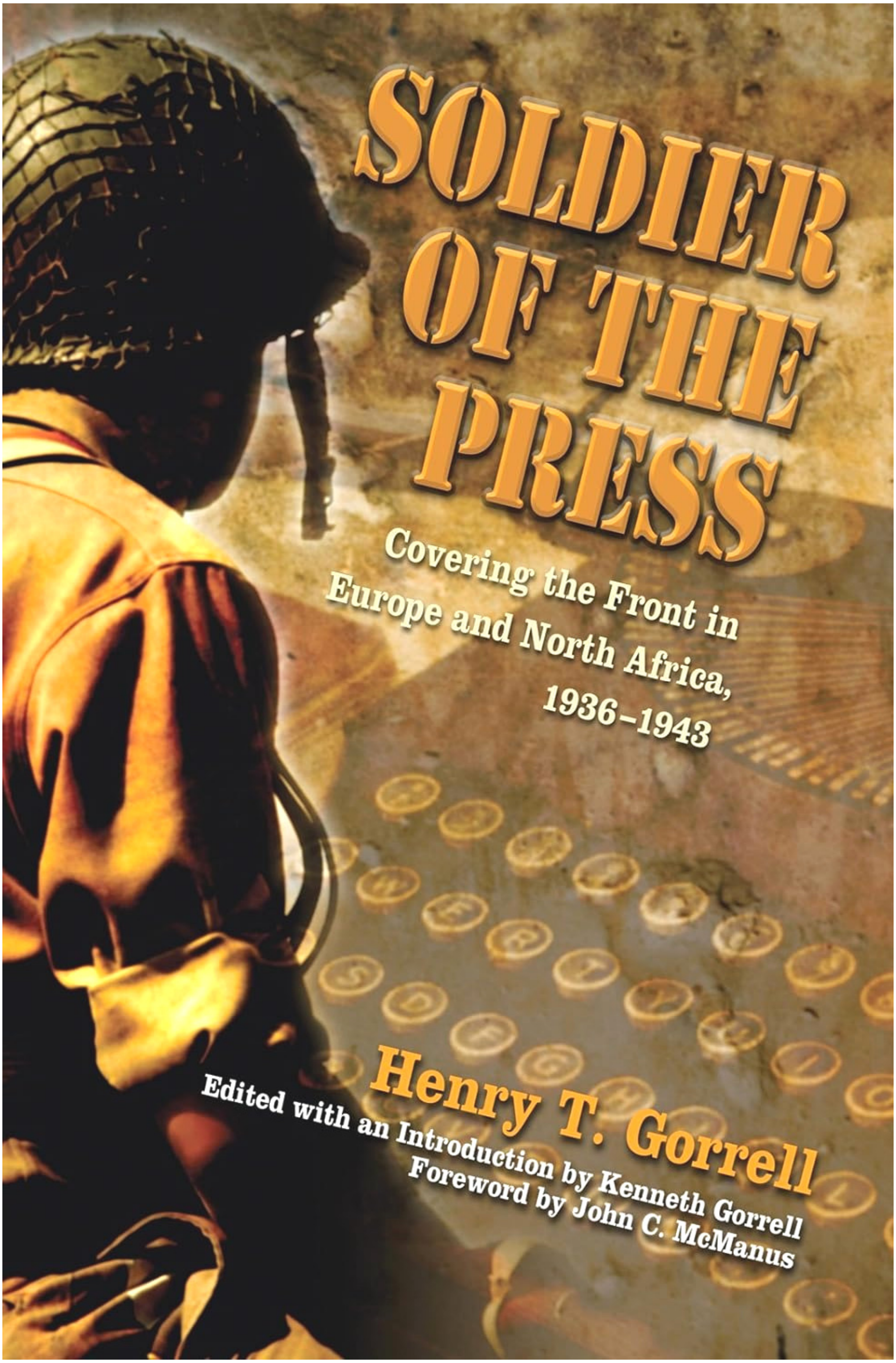


Fig. 7. Front cover, *Soldiers of the Press*, Henry T. Gorrell.



Fig. 8. The Carton Building, a block of living apartments in Central Bucharest. At its height of forty-seven meters, it was the tallest building in interwar Bucharest until its destruction during the November 10, 1940 earthquake. [Public Domain]



Fig. 9. Rescue operations at the Carlton Building after the 1940 earthquake.
Photo by Iosif Berman. [Public Domain].



We the People of the United States*, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*

Introduction to The Constitution of the United States, 1789

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